University and Multiversity *Robert M. Hutchins*

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The Dodd that Failed

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The Winners — *Stanley Kauffmann*

Old China Hands — *Nym Wales*

East Germany — *Leo Muray*

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Love and Death

★ President Johnson knows as well as anybody that Republicans will call almost any negotiated settlement with Hanoi a sellout. This has happened to every American President after every recent war. It pushes a President, alas, toward a demand for unconditional surrender. Harry Truman would have been denounced as "appeaser" for the same compromise settlement that General Eisenhower later made in Korea. We don't imagine this factor is decisive with LBJ, but we suppose it influences him. (We think the country is so sick of war it would now bless almost any settlement, GOP to the contrary notwithstanding.)

The Johnson-Ho exchange will be endlessly argued; both sides seemed to be making extreme demands. The disclosure that Mr. Johnson is really sending notes to Hanoi strengthens the President, we think. He did not make the disclosure himself even under the temptation of his row with Bobby Kennedy, but now Ho Chi Minh has made it for him. To this extent we think Ho handed him a propaganda victory.

The word from Guam is, according to the AP's report from top but unnamed "US officials," that "Vietnam communists are often short of food and ammunition, diseased and low in morale, yet still pressing the battle." There is no sign that their "resolve is crumbling." So the outcome is apt to be as Senator Fulbright put it the other day. We will first decimate the country. All we want is an admission of defeat. Then we will love them to death. We will build them roads and rebuild their houses. We will, of course, also restore landlords and money-lenders. When this happy goal is reached they will have a nice American-style civilization. "It will not," added Fulbright, "in my opinion, result in an acceptable society from the point of view of the Asians."

Trouble for HUAC?

★ About this time each year the House votes funds for its permanent witch hunt, the Un-American Activities Committee. HUAC spent $845,000 in the last Congress and over $7 million since it started in 1938. We see some signs the House is getting tired of the thing.

What has the nation got out of HUAC? Time after time citations for contempt have been overthrown. The turmoil over the hearing here last August caused even Senator Dirksen to say, "This spectacle can do Congress no good." Its total record of legislation in 17 years has been five bills; the first (1950) vainly attempting to force registration of the Communist Party, and three of the others amendments to this. The parent 1950 Act just got its deathblow from the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. Not a single organization has ever registered under this Act. The fifth bill was the Communist Control Act of 1954. This has never been implemented because nobody knows what it means and the Executive has been unwilling to try to enforce it in any way. That is the record of 17 years.

The real work of HUAC is to compile a monster blacklist of raw and unevaluated material which is available for almost any snooper organization. Your name may be on it; so, probably, is ours. This column exposed last November that HUAC is using part of its funds to pay friendly witnesses for their testimony. Even all members of the committee did not know this; the practice was put into effect by the committee counsel. HUAC Chairman Willis (D, La.) denied it, which so irritated Rep. Wayne Hays (D, Ohio), a conservative who doesn't care about HUAC one way or another, that he showed HUAC had paid witnesses $35,228 since the middle of 1961. One elegant communist turncoat who testified last August was put on the payroll for $1,000.

At a time when the House has acted self-righteously against Adam Clayton Powell for misusing government funds it would seem appropriate to do something about its own committee. Curiously enough, relief may come, after all, from the courts. A group of 90-odd university law school professors solemnly warned the House last week that legal trouble may lie ahead. Back in 1959, they recall, the Supreme Court by a bare 5-4 decision in *Barenblatt* v *US* ruled that in spite of the committee's lax authorization resolution, it does not violate the First Amendment. Two members of that majority of five are no longer on the Court; a third, Tom Clark, will retire at the end of the current term. Other decisions have whittled at *Barenblatt*, and more cases are on their way. The House may find another constitutional case on its hands beside the prospective Powell one.

Tricky

★ We have always thought it would be fun to have a king in this country. So, let's have one. . . . How? A tricky device in the Constitution (which has never been used) permits two-thirds of the state legislatures to petition Congress to call a constitutional convention any time they want, to write a new, improved Constitution. The convention could do anything, abolish the income tax, abolish the Bill of Rights, institute polygamy, establish a monarchy. Speaking merely as a reporter, we couldn't think of anything gaudier.

It was all dreamed up by lovable, laughable, pain-in-the-neck Everett Dirksen, who looks more like W. C. Fields every day. It would be a scary riposte to the Supreme Court's one-man-one-vote decision. (Abolish the Court, we suppose.) Well, 32 of the 34 state legislatures have acted. But it is not likely to happen. *The NYTimes*, in what we thought was a rather alarmist story, front-paged the exciting news last week. Alas, the various memorials, passed by assorted rotten-borough, lame-duck state legislatures vary in form; its legality is tainted by malapportionment of legislatures themselves.

Still, if we can get a free-wheeling constitutional convention going with all our modern Washingtons, Hamiltons, Franklins – the "Unfounding Fathers" – we're for it. Dirksen will play Washington, of course.

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CONTENTS

COMMENT 3-6
Courage to Change, Fiddle-Diddle, Nuclear Power in New York

Profile of East Germany – *Leo Muray* 6

LBJ's Tax Dilemma – *Edwin L. Dale Jr.* 8

The Dodd that Failed – *Robert Yoakum* 10

Old China Hands – *Nym Wales* 13

The University and the Multiversity – *Robert Maynard Hutchins* 15

The Winners *by Stanley Kauffmann* 18

BOOKS – *Reviews by Julian Moynahan, Joseph A. Page, Lewis Yablonsky* 19

A COMMUNICATION 24

CORRESPONDENCE 26

FEIFFER 27

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Courage to Change

A new and still grimmer cycle of the Vietnam war is beginning. President Johnson's fantastic, exhausting and pointless flight to Guam and back was fitting prelude to further senseless butchery. He and his bewildered top officials did the 15,200-mile round trip in under three days and spent hardly 30 hours on Guam. Last year's Honolulu and Manila conferences will rate only brief footnotes in the history books. The Guam trip will be recorded as the most unnecessary overseas journey ever made by an American President. Nothing was said or done on Guam to justify the dramatic dash by jet across a dozen time zones. It can only have been intended as a symbol of yet another bid to "win" in Vietnam. This means that once again, the President has reacted sharply to a buffet from Hanoi, almost as if the war were a personal fight between him and Ho Chi Minh. He told his March 2 news conference, "The American people should know that this is a question between their President, their country, their troops and Mr. Ho Chi Minh and the troops that he is sending in from the North." Now, we know that when he said that Mr. Johnson had received Ho's refusal to cease helping the 100,000 Viet Cong forces fend off 450,000 American, 500,000 South Vietnamese and 50,000 South Korean troops in exchange for halting the American bombing of North Vietnam. The consequences so far of Ho's stubbornness include stepped-up bombing of the North, intensified shelling, mining of North Vietnam rivers, and the hastily contrived Guam talks which slapped together some paper plans for further harrying of South Vietnam villages. There is no end in sight to the pursuit and destruction of the maddeningly elusive Viet Cong cadres.

Marshal Ky typically seized the chance offered by Mr. Johnson's emotional state and the Guam confusion to turn up at the meeting with his highly individual prescriptions for winning the war. These include blowing up Haiphong harbor and any Russian ships there, and introducing American divisions into both Cambodia and Laos. He got a pat of encouragement in this folly from Secretary Rusk, who went out of his way on Guam to remark that the American and allied forces fighting the war had hitherto shown "considerable restraint," but that "if Hanoi maintains its present attitude . . . then we do have to press this matter in Vietnam and bring it to a successful conclusion." Nothing can be ruled out once the thirst for military victory is in our mouths – not even a march on the North; and indeed on March 10 the President referred to "our invasion of the North." General West-

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moreland may become area commander in control of air and naval action against the North, as well as of the troops in the South. Talk of invading the North brings the wheel of American intervention in Vietnam full circle. In 1955, Ngo Dinh Diem declared his intention to "liberate" the North and even set up a "Liberation Committee." Ky plainly hopes to be elected President under the new South Vietnamese constitution and be another Diem. He says he will not permit the existence, as a political party, of the National Liberation Front, which on Guam he called "a team of shadowy professional politico-terrorists." That leaves unexplained how the shadows continue to hold large parts of the South and its population against a million American and other soldiers who are armed with more firepower than it would take to level two Vietnams.

There are civilian politicians in the South, some of whom almost certainly have quite different notions about the Front from Ky's, but in his grandiloquent Guam discussion of political possibilities Ky didn't bother to mention such civilian rivals. They would probably get as short shrift from President Ky as all his political opponents got from President Diem. Ky stands for continuing rule by the South's officer caste (almost all of whom are Northerners). He also represents the South's rapacious landlords, who when a Viet Cong hamlet is recaptured ride in with the conquering troops to claim their back rents, their way of convincing the peasants that anything is preferable to communism. Land reform in the South has long been on the farthest back burner, though economic aid including rice shipments to South Vietnam will cost this country $700 million this year. General Lansdale, the almost-forgotten champion of land reform, is being moved out of Saigon; Mr. Johnson's special assistant, ex-CIA man Robert Komer, is moving in. From remarks he has dropped, Komer's "pacification" will put up with South Vietnamese soldiers' looting of peasants' chickens and pigs and raping their wives and daughters, for after all the soldiers don't draw any pay to speak of, and it's a hard life, and all war is hell.

Mr. Komer favors launching 25 different programs knowing that each cannot hope for more than a 25 percent success, on the argument that that's the traditional way of doing things in the mysterious Orient. With Komer installed the circle is complete: Ambassador Bunker as another Nolting, Ky as Diem, the South a characteristic, cool CIA operation. Even a Vietnamese Bay of Pigs may not be lacking. If intention of serious negotiating is shelved, the way to victory will be ever increasing punishment of the North, pouring on the firepower and the bombs, and perhaps troops, too, hoping the Viet Cong and Hanoi will crack.

This treacherous course is opposed by a number of citizens not noted for their immoderation. They include General Gavin, the former Ambassador to France, and General Shoup, the former Commandant of the Marine Corps, Democratic Senators like Fulbright and Robert Kennedy, Republicans like Senators Percy, Javits and Hatfield. Senator Kennedy recently called for an unconditional bombing halt as a step to peace talks. Senator Javits has declared that "more and more force and greater escalation will not produce a military victory in a guerrilla war nor will it bring the communists to the negotiating table," and has recommended for the South "a vast program of social and economic reform including land reform." Senator Hatfield on March 16, in the most unequivocal statement of all, defended Ho Chi Minh as a nationalist first and a communist second, and charged that in Vietnam the US aligned itself with French colonialists and then with unpopular indigenous landlords. Thus it has got involved unnecessarily and harmfully in a civil war.

Hatfield's first proposal is to stop the bombing. And why not? "I don't believe," Secretary McNamara told Congress last January, "that the bombing up to the present has significantly reduced, or that any bombing I could contemplate in the future would significantly reduce, the actual flow of men and material to the South." Hatfield also suggests reconvening the Geneva Conference that wrote the 1954 and 1962 accords, getting the United Nations to initiate peace talks and, should all else fail, an all-Asian conference and getting Americans out of Vietnam. To all this he attaches one very important condition. "I do not believe," Senator Hatfield said, "that we will be successful in seeking peace through either method if we continue to misinterpret and distort the realities of this conflict; if we refuse to honestly admit our past miscalculations and if we lack the courage to change the policies that have defeated our purposes since 1950. This is, I believe, where we must begin."

It's a lot to ask, and it is not very different from what Ho Chi Minh demanded of President Johnson in his February 15 letter. Ho chiefly insisted that this country admit by deed and by word that it has done wrong. But the war, as Mr. Johnson's March 2 comment clearly revealed, has become as much a matter of "face" for the US as for Ho. The North Vietnamese leader thinks his is a just cause that has the sympathy of "broad sections of the American people." The President of course believes justice is wholly on his side; that is why the killing must go on. But the doubters include leading Republicans as well as leading Democrats and at least two top military men. If the President goes on just flailing about, more and more Americans are bound to begin asking themselves, seriously and perhaps for the first time, *why* the national interest requires us to rip apart this small Asian country. And then, they may start looking elsewhere for leadership.

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Fiddle-Diddle

Sen. Richard B. Russell (D, Ga.) mounted a show of force last week that sent a shock wave of dismay and chagrin through the Defense Department and placed him in the Senate's growing anti-interventionist camp. So formidable are the senator's prestige and tactical skill that he managed to carry the whole Senate along – with the incongruous exception of Wayne Morse (D, Ore.) and Ernest Gruening (D, Alaska).

When he was through, the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee had sunk a 30-ship Navy fleet (temporarily, at least), accused Navy Secretary Paul H. Nitze of making a "veiled threat" against the economy of Georgia, and posed a challenge to the Johnson Administration which it may find hard to duck.

The tactic used by Russell was to associate a very strong committee statement opposing a foreign policy and defense posture which anticipate future military adventures of the Vietnam sort, with the usual massive vote in support of an annual defense bill. It was the same tactic used by President Johnson last year when he claimed that Congress backed his war policy because it backed his military appropriations requests. (Gruening and Morse, one assumes, voted no this time because of Mr. Johnson's previous claim and because they did not realize what Russell was up to. Odds are that most other senators, preoccupied with the pre-Easter rush, also missed the point when they cast their votes, 86-2, for the bill, which authorized new defense procurement and research.)

What happened was that, in passing the bill, the Senate accepted without demur a unanimous recommendation by the Armed Services Committee that the Defense Department be blocked from building a fleet of 30 "fast deployment logistic ships." These ships are sometimes known as "fiddles" from the initials FDLS. The report of the Armed Services Committee estimated the cost of procuring and operating the 30 FDLS over a life-span of 15 or 20 years to be more than $2 billion, and added, "Beyond the cost, the committee is concerned about the possible creation of an impression that the United States has assumed the function of policing the world and that it can be thought to be at least considering intervention in any kind of strife or commotion occurring in any of the nations of the world."

The FDLS, according to a Navy statement, would "act as a deterrent to hostile military adventures in any region of the globe by providing a flexible means for stationing combat equipment for land forces near any area of potential trouble for prompt use if needed." The plan calls for Army troops to be airlifted to the trouble spot to match up with the equipment aboard the FDLS. If beachheads and airstrips have to be seized from hostile or uncooperative hands, the Marines would be sent in first.

The FDLS, combined with C-5A jumbo jets that will become available in about two years, would provide the core of the Defense Department's new "fast deployment strategy." This is the outgrowth of numerous studies by the Joint Chiefs of Staff of potential trouble spots around the world. These studies, plus experience with slow deployment in World War II, Korea and Vietnam, persuaded the Administration that the faster troops can be rushed to the scene, the less the risk of a conflict and the lower casualties will be if there is a conflict. In his annual statement to Congress, Defense Secretary McNamara said that with planned improvements in airlift and sealift, the US in a few years will be able "to move overseas within 30-60 days most of our central reserve of active ground forces." This means a force of well over 500,000 men. McNamara added that, "Any threat to the peace in any part of the world could, in some measure, become a threat to our own security and well-being."

It is currently McNamara's proud boast that, using the slow deployment strategy and going into a country where few preparations have been made, he was able to move "over 100,000 men 10,000 miles in less than 120 days" during the Vietnam buildup of late 1965. Thus the fast deployment strategy would mean about a tenfold improvement in the time-force-distance equation, as well as more defense capability per man in the armed forces, a factor which affects the size of the defense establishment. The FDLS program is considered an essential element of the strategy, since it is beyond the means of airports in most areas of the world to handle the load if airlift alone were used.

Critics of the concept pointed out that unlike aircraft, these ships would constantly steam near troubled areas of the world, which means virtually everywhere. "Some nations would consider this facility for intervention as an intimidation," Russell told the Senate. "As for the effect of too much pre-positioning on our own decisions, there is reason to think, to put it colloquially, that if it is easy for us to go anywhere and do anything, we will always be going somewhere and doing something." Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D, Mont.) declared himself "delighted" that the committee and Senate had acted against a proposal that "would . . . in effect make us a world policeman and make us subject to actions for which we might not assent in Congress."

Apparently, the Pentagon thought it had nothing to fear in the Senate committee, despite a letter from Russell in January setting forth his objections. "I was very enthusiastic about this concept when the plan was first laid before the committee," Russell said at the hearing. "But I have seen some things recently that

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cause me to have grave misgivings about it." He said the prospect of sending "three or four divisions" to enforce UN sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa, for instance, "chilled my enthusiasm for these ships. . . . I think this would be a little rougher even than Vietnam, and the building of these ships is a very decided step in that direction in my opinion."

Then Navy Secretary Nitze made a tactical error, and Russell seized his advantage. Nitze said the Pentagon might have to reconsider the whole fast deployment strategy if it failed to get the FDLS, and adjust its airlift program. The major element of the airlift program is procurement of the Lockheed C-5A aircraft, which are built in Georgia. Russell, backed by the committee, chose to consider this a "veiled threat" to his state and an imputation of pork-barreling. What Johnson appears to be facing in the Senate as the consequence of his Vietnam policy is a series of checking actions designed to limit his maneuvering room in foreign affairs.

With the opposition of senators as influential as Russell, Stennis and Mansfield, the Administration may find a new "Great Debate" unavoidable.

Nuclear Power in New York

Governor Rockefeller wants to meet New York's electricity needs by using state funds to subsidize private power companies in the building and operation of nuclear power plants. It is an extraordinary proposal, and from the point of view of New York's seven private utilities it must seem a most generous one. Not only does Rockefeller want to use public funds to underwrite their costs, but he promises them a complete monopoly. This would be accomplished by preventing the state public power authority from building nuclear plants, thereby shutting off what little competition now exists between public and private power.

The governor's scheme envisions doubling electric generating capacity by 1977. No more fossil fuel stations will be permitted. To entice the private companies into the nuclear enterprise, the state would select and purchase land, called "atomic energy reservations" which then would be leased back to the companies at cheap rates. In addition, the state would buy nuclear fuel, and then either sell it or lease it at low rates to the companies. To bolster research in nuclear power, the state would pump money into the Empire State Atomic Development Associates, the industry's research organization.

Senator Robert Kennedy dissented last week, but the Rockefeller plan has already been approved by the Republican-controlled state Senate; it will take a lot of muscle to stop it in the Assembly which has a majority of fickle Democrats.

Profile of East Germany

From All Signs, It's Here to Stay

Leipzig

With five other British journalists, I have just spent a week on a conducted tour of a theoretically nonexistent country – the German Democratic Republic, East Germany, Middle Germany, the Soviet Occupied Zone, according to your taste. Whatever you choose to call it, the GDR is among the six biggest industrial countries on the European continent. The other day, and not without justification, a West German writer on economics suggested that the real German "economic miracle" had taken place in the East and not in the West. There is little doubt, indeed, that the East Germans have pulled themselves up by their bootstraps. At the time the US poured millions of dollars worth of goods and equipment into West Germany, the Russians were pulling those out of East Germany. The difference in the living standards of the two Germanies is still noticeable but not as vital as it has been.

The visit which took our party from East Berlin to Rostock on the Baltic and south to Leipzig and Dresden confirmed the impression gained previously. The communist cadres and the managerial elite who are running the country are supremely confident of survival and the rest of the populace has grimly accepted the permanence of "the Republic." There can be no going back on the division of Germany. The elaborate plans for rebuilding and rezoning East Berlin and expanding its traffic, explained to our group at length, show quite clearly that the wall is to stay for a long time.

A high and extremely articulate official admitted that in essence the long-term division of Germany would produce a new nationality in the GDR. Eventually the language would be as different as American is from English. The breaking up of the ancient lands of Saxony, Prussia and Mecklenburg into 14 districts in 1952 under a severely centralized government was the first step. A further step was the introduction of the new nationality law last February. It claims every German born in the GDR as a citizen, including the millions who have fled to West Germany. The East German government has not yet issued the detailed regulations implementing the new law. East German officials could not say whether West Germans born in the GDR would be admitted to East Germany without an East German passport. At present, residents of West Germany can visit East Germany but residents of West Berlin can't. A change would be a shrewd blow against

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a West Berlin demoralized by Herr Brandt becoming a cabinet minister in Bonn.

East German officials lay considerable stress on the new treaties of friendship and defense concluded with Czechoslovakia and Poland. They stress too that the new West German government can be trusted even less than that of Herr Erhard. They triumphantly cite as an indisputable argument in their favor the resistance of the Bonn government to the American-Soviet effort to ban the spread of nuclear weapons.

The East Germans regard the new "triple alliance" with Poland and Czechoslovakia as a real safeguard. There is no doubt that West German resistance to the "nuclear ban treaty" has scared the Czechs and Poles. There is little doubt too that the continuing preoccupation of the Soviet Union with China has made East Germany more valuable to those two nations as a first line of defense. Soviet troops are in evidence near all the principal towns. Their camps are nearly always surrounded by a high fence painted bright green.

The communist cadres need time and a measure of seclusion to build their new state and nation. But theirs is not an impossible task. After all, the territory of the GDR has now been under totalitarian rule since 1933. This means that nobody under 45 has a real notion of what political freedom, let alone ordered democracy, can be like. Education and all media of communication are strictly centralized. Despite the fact that everybody can hear Western radio stations, East German newspapers cannot even publish Soviet-bloc news releases directly. It is all processed through the East German News Agency. Holidays are only taken in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and – for the wealthy – sometimes in Cuba. Education, also strictly centralized, is efficient and completely coeducational. The Socialist Unity Party (communist) is exerting pressure right down to the kindergarten. At a school we visited, the notice board had a dozen or so handwritten and signed notices like this: "To help the Seventh Party Congress I have improved my grade in application from two to one [the highest mark]. Ursula Schmidt." Hatred of the US over Vietnam is inculcated at all levels. There are pictures of children killed in air raids; Vietnamese students give lectures. Collecting for Hanoi is highly organized. North Vietnam has a stand at the Leipzig Fair where sympathizers write good wishes in a book. It is full. It is quite obvious that many Germans, communists and non-communists, are seizing this opportunity to transfer their own guilt to a victor of the last war.

But under the surface things are moving all the same. Our party was taken to a musical and to a concert in East Berlin and Leipzig. It could have been anywhere in west central Europe judging by the dress and behavior of the stodgy middle-class audience. Only the cars were missing. It takes five years to get one. The musical was *My Fair Lady*. At the concert a band and singer dressed daringly in the style of 1951 sang such blatantly communist songs as those from *Annie Get Your Gun* and again *My Fair Lady*. When Monsieur Pascal, a French singer who looks like Gregory Peck, mentioned Princess Margaret a gasp of appreciative admiration went through the Leipzig audience. The communist leaders have to permit something. It's the Beatles and the beatniks they are afraid of. Young people seem to accept the new state but not its utterly philistine style. Underground pop groups are springing up all over the place. In East Berlin there were violent clashes between members of a pop groups' club and the police. Many were beaten up and scores of arrests were made. In the end the authorities had to give in and allow the "October" Club, linking its name with the Russian Revolution. But the songs and music are American and British. For the young men the most prized possession except a girl and a motorcycle is a tape recorder to tape Western pop.

Below the glittering surface of monolithic unity and behind the zeal of the cold warriors, the Communist Party is deeply split. Walter Ulbricht, whose portrait with its foxy smile hangs on every wall, is 72 and ailing. The battle for the succession is raging in every committee room in preparation for next month's party congress. Ulbricht is an Old Stalinist, like many up and down the snakes and ladders of the GDR establishment. Two men are prominent in the fight for the succession, each standing for a different policy. Herr Honecker is a younger Old Stalinist who wants to carry on as before. Herr Stoph, the prime minister, a handsome former officer, is credited with thinking on different lines. Nobody knows for sure, but some call him a "potential Rumanian," a man who would like to have at least a little more freedom of action, especially in the field of economics and foreign trade. There is nobody in the ranks of the Socialist Unity Party or the four "zombie" parties, Farmers, Liberals, Christian Democrats and National Democrats, who thinks in any other terms but those of two German states at least until 2000, with West Berlin being incorporated at the right time. One of the reasons, of course, is that very few of these functionaries down to the lowest ranks can expect any indulgence from a West German government. Who will win, and when, Honecker or Stoph, is not expected to be revealed at the forthcoming party congress. Most young people are for Stoph, it is said.

A tour of the shipyards at Rostock on the Baltic shows up East Germany's economic successes and problems. At the end of the last war, East Germany had one merchant vessel and no proper shipyard. Last year there were 159 ships with a total tonnage of

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900,000 tons. There are five big shipyards. The Soviet Union has ordered 105 fishing trawlers and order books are full until 1970. But 92 percent of the steel used comes from the Soviet Union and 72 percent of the equipment comes from the Soviet bloc as a whole. Only the pumps come from West Germany, and Decca in England provides the radar. This means that the new shipping industry is totally dependent on the Soviet Union. It can be switched on and off, just like the grand-style district heating planned for East Berlin. It will be dependent on oil piped from the Soviet Union to be literally switched off and on at one station. On the other hand, the Soviet Union is leaning on East Germany's heavy chemical industry.

A rigid trade pattern has been laid down: 75 percent with Russia and the socialist countries, 25 percent with the rest of the world. Thus there is a steady market in the Soviet Union for machinery and equipment that need not be competitive in design and price in the markets of the West. There is thus no real need to become up-to-date provided "the plan" is fulfilled. This percentage ensures that the GDR, like other Soviet-bloc countries can never have enough hard currency at its disposal to strike out on its own, to buy in the West what is needed for modernizing industry. It is significant that the Czechs sold several million pounds worth of modern office equipment, ordered by East Germany, to the West so as to get the hard currency they needed for vital purchases in the West. The temptations are great to follow a "Rumanian policy."

At the Leipzig Fair the GDR authorities made a strong play for expanding trade with Britain, now $16-million each way. They have submitted a memorandum asking for a three-to-five-year trade agreement with the Confederation of British Industries instead of an annual one, for the setting up of a permanent British Trade Office in East Berlin and easier travel facilities for GDR ministers and VIPs who refuse to go to West Berlin for an Allied Travel Buro visa. At present only one Western country has a trade representative in East Berlin – Finland. In themselves, these requests are reasonable. But so long as the GDR observes the present rigid foreign trade pattern and an aggressively anti-Western foreign policy the disadvantages of antagonizing West Germany are greater than the advantages of slightly increased trade with the 17 million East Germans. And this goes for all Western industrialized countries.

LEO MURAY

LBJ's Tax Dilemma

The date is July 21, 1968. The Republican convention is just a couple of weeks away. And on the front page of all the newspapers is the headline: "Government reports record $17.5 billion deficit."

This glimpse into the future is necessarily imaginative, but it is far from improbable. The odds now appear to be better than even that when the Treasury reports the final results for fiscal year 1968 on July 20 next year, the deficit in the familiar administrative budget will be in excess of $15 billion. This raises three questions, the answers to which will be examined here:

How did this surprising situation come about?

Is such a large deficit necessarily a bad thing?

What will be the political impact?

The story, which includes an almost fatalistic chain of cause and effect, begins with the management of the economy by the Administration last year. Partly because of a serious underestimate of the cost of the war in Vietnam, the Administration declined to request a general tax increase, leaving the burden of checking inflationary pressure mostly up to the monetary policy of the Federal Reserve System. As we all know, money grew progressively tighter and interest rates progressively higher. For our purposes here, however, the question is not whether this policy was right or wrong. The key fact is that by the last week of August 1966, it had produced a condition of near panic in the money markets. For a day or two, it was difficult to sell a municipal bond at any price.

To its credit, the Administration reacted decisively. In a message to Congress September 8, the President proposed suspension of the seven percent tax subsidy for business investment, announced a deferral of some government expenditures (of which highway spending later turned out to be the chief ingredient), and took technical measures to reduce the amount of government borrowing in the near term. The package worked. The money crisis ended almost immediately. But a problem, little recognized then, was building up for the future.

The tax credit suspension as enacted was to terminate January 1, 1968. Suppose you are the president of, say, a railroad. You know you are eventually going to need more freight cars, but you do not absolutely have to have them this year. So you simply stop ordering – and this in fact happened. Orders for freight cars plummeted 86 percent in the early months of this year.

Or suppose you are head of a chemical company expanding a plant. You come along to about September and you know the tax credit will be restored in another few months. So you too stop all equipment orders.

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This is known as the problem of the "air pocket," peculiar to a tax instrument such as this one – the period of a few months before the credit is restored. The Administration, it has subsequently been disclosed, had always intended either to restore the credit ahead of schedule or to have the suspension extended beyond next January 1, to avoid the air pocket. And so now we come to early March.

Partly because of the investment credit suspension but mainly for other reasons, business reported to the government that its total investment in plant and equipment this year would rise only 3.9 percent over last year, meaning in practice no increase at all from the level of the final quarter of last year. This was in sharp contrast to booming increases of 15-17 percent in previous years, and came at a time when other sectors of the economy were showing sluggishness.

The plant and equipment survey, once published, was bound to start speculation on an early restoration of the tax credit. And that very speculation was bound to create an air pocket of its own. And thus the Administration rapidly decided that, since the credit would have to be restored ahead of schedule anyway, the time to do it was now.

So far so good. No harm, and some good, done. But in the meanwhile, back at the ranch, the President made the major decision to request of Congress a six percent income tax surcharge on individuals and corporations, to take effect at midyear, partly to "help pay for the war." And the inevitable question has arisen in the minds of members of Congress, as well as outside observers: "How can we give this tax bonus to business and then slap a tax on individuals?"

In short, regardless of its economic merits, the income tax surcharge was bound to be jeopardized politically by the decision to restore the investment credit. And in the background was another problem – the slowing of the economy, partly in consequence of last year's tight money.

Although unemployment has not yet risen, industrial production has declined for several months, new orders are off sharply and automobile sales at retail have been extremely weak. While it is much too early to say we are in, or heading for, a recession, it is unlikely that the economy will look very bouncy in May and June, when Congress is supposed to be considering the tax increase. In those circumstances a tax increase to reduce demand would appear the wrong medicine.

For these two reasons then – the timing of the investment credit decision and the likely profile of the economy – the Administration faces an uphill battle, to say the least, to get the tax increase. And if it does not get it, the projected deficit of $8 billion automatically jumps to $13 billion.

In addition, there is a strong possibility that the economy, without ever qualifying for the label "recession," will perform less well this year than the Administration's forecast, particularly corporate profits. And this will mean less revenues than projected. They could easily drop by $2-4 billion if general business is only slightly worse than officially projected.

Add nearly $1 billion revenue loss from the early restoration of the investment tax credit and we have the headline of July 21, 1968. Nobody will have planned or wanted a deficit of, say, $17.5 billion but there it will be. Now, is this necessarily bad?

The answer depends entirely on the course of the economy. If the present sluggishness persists, and particularly if the present large overhang of excess inventories takes longer to be worked off than the Administration projections imply, then a stimulative fiscal policy with a large deficit (it would be about $11-13 billion on the more meaningful "cash" or "national income accounts" bases of measurement) would be the proper policy. The Federal Reserve could conduct its monetary operations in such a way as to facilitate the necessary Treasury borrowing. In effect, the sluggish private sector would have reduced private demand for credit and the Treasury would be borrowing, in part, otherwise "idle" funds. This is orthodox Keynesianism and should not frighten anyone.

But if the economy performs as the Administration expects, with a brisk pickup in the last half of this year, a very large deficit (it would not be quite so large because revenues, other than from the tax increase, would be closer to the January projections) could help set off a new round of overheating and inflationary pressure.

Thus it is possible to envisage actually happening something that the naïve criers of doom have been saying for years would happen: a large budget deficit (stunningly large by comparison with all recent experience) and a rising cost of living. Even if there were, as there probably would be, full employment and good business, this could not fail to hurt the President in the election. For once, the Republican cries of "unsound fiscal policy" and "government profligacy" would have a ring of truth and substance to them.

Perhaps the worst of the dilemma for the Democrats is that we shall probably not have clear-cut evidence by June, or even July, on whether the economy is going to pick up or continue to be sluggish. Thus not only the politicians, but even the economists, will probably not have the answer as to the right thing to do about the tax increase, in economic terms.

However, the Democrats would be very wise to avoid foreclosing the tax increase now, even if there does seem to be some injustice in giving business an apparent bonus and then hiking taxes on individuals. What is more, if the economic evidence is at all con-

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vincing in June or July that the economy is emerging from its weakness, they would almost certainly be wise to push the tax increase through.

Voters, unfortunately, have short memories. If by late 1968 there is a very large deficit accompanied by rising prices, all the brilliant years of management that produced a record-long expansion could easily be forgotten. A tax increase to head off this very real possibility might be the best political medicine.

EDWIN L. DALE JR.

The Dodd that Failed

by Robert Yoakum

". . . If there is anything more common to Connecticut than nutmeg it is testimonial affairs, and they go on there every week," said Senator Thomas J. Dodd to the six senators investigating, among other things, the tax-free $173,868 Dodd netted from four such affairs. It was a calamitous comparison for the senator, who was trying to give the impression that precedent in the Nutmeg State made it all right for him to pocket these funds and use them for whatever he deemed pleasant. Connecticut nutmegs, according to Webster, were phonies. The state's nickname came from the allegation that Yankee farmers and peddlers carved wooden counterfeits of the spicy nut and sold them as the real thing imported from the East or West Indies.

Suspecting that Dodd had blundered into truth, I called Helen Case Foster, the state central democratic committeewoman from the district in which I live, who had attended one of the dinners in question. She had assumed that the money raised at these events was to pay campaign deficits, she said, adding that in 20 years of active politics in Connecticut she had never heard of a testimonial dinner to raise tax-free funds for the private use of a politician. The Ethics Committee, if it wished, could have found many such people – not surprisingly, since newspaper stories, dinner programs, and some of the dunning letters *said* that the money was for Dodd's campaign.

Dodd cracked his jaw on more than wooden nutmegs. His appearance as the final witness in the week-long hearings was a failure in other ways. He dished up an Irish stew that many of his constituents would have loved, but it pleased the palates of neither the press nor the Ethics Committee, perhaps because of the ingredients: bathos, studied humility, tales of sacrifices and tribulations, self-pity, indignation, betrayals, corn, "by goshes," widows, family, flags. He never did explain where all that money went, which was what the committee most wanted to know.

Depending on whose figures one accepts, Dodd had an income from all sources for the five-year period covered by the inquiry of between $450,000 and $750,000. Some flavor of the stew that was served by Dodd in more than two hours of testimony can be gained by the following response to the polite efforts of Chairman John Stennis to find out on which legitimate enterprises that amount of money was spent:

"I do not know how many good people come down here a year from Connecticut. I take them to lunch. I think they believe that I get it free, and I never tell them that I do not. . . . Why that has happened . . . within the last two weeks, a fine family, a distinguished son, a Congressional Medal of Honor winner. I am even sorry to have to talk about it. I was proud to take him and his father and mother, his brother, to lunch in the Senate dining room . . . it cost me about $70.

"I'm not complaining about it. I am glad I did it. Any time I can do anything for a Congressional Medal of Honor winner, I want to do it. But I only tell it because this is the kind of thing I think we all live with every day."

Not only is it nearly impossible in the liquorless and nonprofit Senate dining room to spend $14 per person for lunch (the average is below $4), but the pitch was a bad one for both Dodd's peers and the press. They wanted a few facts, and instead he patronizingly served up a patriotic meal that left both a bad taste and several hundred thousand dollars unexplained. One effort must have reached the senators, though, and that was a warning near the end. ". . . I may be the only member of the United States Senate whose files have been systematically rifled, ransacked and the contents taken to creatures who deal in this sort of traffic," he said, referring to the four disillusioned staff members who removed papers, copied and returned them. His penultimate sentence was an even more ominous thrust at those fellow club members who may have cut a corner here and there: "I am sorry I had to be the first one."

Who was to blame for Dodd's travails? On this sub-

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ject he was specific. First, traitorous employees. Second, the press, which he said "has been mighty unfair to me." And third, Connecticut and National Democratic Chairman John Bailey (although he wasn't named) and the state Democratic organization which "was unfriendly to me then and it is now. . . . I think that is where my difficulty principally lies."

On the first score, disputes will continue for a long time in this gossip-ridden and argumentative city. Senator Dodd is understandably outraged at having his private files made public, turned over to Drew Pearson by presumably loyal employees. The four employees are understandably outraged at the failure of their disclosures to cause the wave of indignation, the press crusade, the speedy and thorough Senate investigation that they expected; rightly or wrongly, they chose to sacrifice jobs and status for what they believed to be an exposure of corruption that would result in reform.

On the second score, Dodd has no cause for complaint. On the contrary. Newspapers, magazines and broadcasters were so slow in picking up the Dodd story, and so unwilling or unable to do any investigative reporting, that the entire enterprise almost withered away from inattention about a year ago. Even now, after the hearings, as we await a committee report a few weeks hence, there is precious little effort being made to pursue the many tantalizing leads that the committee turned up but didn't follow up.

Dodd actually believes that communists and leftists have great influence on certain papers, according to James P. Boyd, chief speechwriter and administrative assistant for six of the 12 years he spent in Dodd's service. "I can always tell when I'm hurting the communists," Dodd used to say, "because the whole red network lights up." Dodd's "red network" consists of *The New York Times, Washington Post, New York Post, Providence Journal, St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and a few others.

The hearing wasn't the first time that Dodd has taken a poke at the press. He has said he believes that deliberately misleading news reports helped put Tito into Belgrade instead of Mihajlovic, Mao into Peking instead of Chiang Kai-shek, Castro into Havana instead of Batista, and that "another hoax" by the news media led to the downfall of the Diem government in Saigon.

Pondering possible solutions to this problem, Dodd came up with this suggestion in 1963: "Congress might decide it would be justified in requiring that the author of a by-line story who is in fact a member of an organization registered or required to register as a communist organization under the Subversive Activities Control Act be identified as such under the by-line."

Robert Yoakum, *a former newspaper reporter, is at work on a study of ethics in contemporary America.*

Boyd says that much of this anti-press attitude is traceable to David Martin, an ex-Trotskyite who has been on the staff of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee since 1959, although the *Congressional Directory* mistakenly or meanly lists him on Dodd's personal staff, where he actually works. (Martin helped Dodd campaign in Connecticut in 1964, presumably bolstering the nation's internal security thereby. Boyd testified at the hearings that Martin said he was to be paid a commission of 25 percent of whatever he raised in lieu of a salary increase. Martin denies such an arrangement, saying he was paid only $1,000 as a bonus for his campaign work. In reply to my question, Martin says that in the period being investigated, he received an additional $2,700 from magazine fees split with Dodd, but nothing else in the way of Dodd-connected extras.)

Another Link

Jay Sourwine, staff director and chief counsel of the internal security subcommittee, is Dodd's other link with rightist and anti-communist groups and individuals. From the latter Dodd raises or "earns" large sums of money, so it is appropriate that Dodd, in turn, has been able to help Sourwine increase his income as well. In Sourwine's case, Dodd endorsed a $2,500 check that Sourwine wanted to cash at the Senate disbursing office. The check bounced at Sourwine's Las Vegas bank, and Dodd had to make it good. Sourwine told Dodd that he had known the money wasn't in the bank (still according to Boyd's testimony) but that he had expected to get $3,500 from Dodd as payment for ghost work on a spooky book about subversion. (In this crowd, a book about subvention might have been more to the point.) Anyway, Dodd made up the loss – out of campaign funds, naturally.

On the third score – the charge that his greatest troubles came from a hostile Democratic organization in Connecticut – Dodd has hold of something, but nothing bigger than a nutmeg. It is true that Dodd has been somewhat slighted by the organization, and that Bailey and he don't like each other. But it is also true that Dodd preferred to set up his own organization, and that he did so, as Boyd says, "with great skill and drive." What happened from 1948 on deserves a quick review, since it explains Dodd's power and the parade of complaisant pols and pals that passed as witnesses for Dodd before the sometimes embarrassed committee.

Dodd was enraged when Bailey passed him over and gave the nod to Chester Bowles for the gubernatorial nomination in 1948. (Bailey backed Bowles to avoid a liberal split resulting from the Progressive Party campaign, says Boyd.) Dodd denounced the ticket, refused to run for lieutenant governor, and said he wouldn't

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be part of a party that let communists influence it. In 1952, when Bowles was out and Bailey was running Abraham Ribicoff as the first Jewish candidate for governor, Dodd was selected to run for the House of Representatives from the heavily Democratic Hartford area. Dodd must have looked almost attractive to Bailey that year. He could blunt Catholic and Irish bigotry where it was most heavily concentrated, and he was invulnerable to the upswell of McCarthyism. Everyone else went under in the Eisenhower treacleslide, but Dodd won heavily, becoming the only Democrat from Connecticut in Congress.

Dodd applied his political talents with great energy for the next four years, doing favors from Capitol Hill and, back in Connecticut, attending every clambake and Holy Name breakfast that would have him. He courted ethnic groups, paid attention to the small town parties that felt slighted on patronage, and sought out dissident factions in the party. He was unanimously nominated for the Senate by the Bailey organization in 1956, but lost the election. His political base was firm enough in 1958 to wrest the nomination from ex-Governor Chester Bowles and ex-Senator William Benton, despite Bailey's neutrality, and he won the election, although he ran well behind the vote-magnet Ribicoff.

Religious and Labor Support

As a senator he solidified his power, increasingly counting on the financial support of ultra-conservatives like Patrick Frawley ($10,000 in the 1964 campaign, plus the $6,000 a year Dodd gets as a broadcaster for the American Security Council, of which Frawley is a principal supporter), and to this rightist backing Dodd grafted the political support of the ethnic Catholic vote and of the labor unions. (The myopic labor unions liked Dodd's voting record on economic issues. Like the rest of the Democratic Party in Connecticut, the unions are eggheadless.)

"Dodd has always been a loner," said ex-staff member Boyd in an interview. "He's a man who didn't want to wait his turn in the regular organization, who wanted independent political power, and who was hard-working and clever enough to get it." So it is absurd now for Dodd to sue the regular organization for nonsupport, Boyd feels, since Dodd himself preferred the separation. That is the foundation, or basement, from which those witnesses emerged – that astonishing procession of Dodd people who said they ran everything but knew nothing at all of what they ran.

There was Matthew M. Moriarty, who said that he was "closer than a brother" to Dodd. A man who was not reluctant to tell what a big man he was in Manchester, Connecticut. Mr. Moriarty was general chairman of the 1961 dinner, treasurer of the 1963 events, the 1964 campaign and the 1965 dinner. Mr. Moriarty said he didn't know how much money had been raised at these affairs, or how much he had raised personally, or for what the money had been used. He saw no financial statements, made no deposits, and did not examine the 1964 campaign report he signed for the Connecticut secretary of state. He did utter the unforgettable, "I was runner-up nationally last year as the dealer of the year across the nation." Something sounded wrong. "The automobile dealer," he added.

There was Sanford Bomstein, treasurer and then secretary of a Washington, D.C., fund-raising reception, who attended meetings of the Dodd finance committee in the nightclub he manages. The biggest decisions were made at meetings where only James Gartland, a Dodd employee, was present, but Bomstein didn't remember what those decisions were. "I wasn't as precautious as I should have been or as officious as I should have been," a sadder and wiser Mr. Bomstein told the senators.

There was Art Powers, first selectman of Berlin, Connecticut, who was treasurer of the 1961 dinner and remembered no more about it than General Chairman Moriarty. Like the others, he couldn't even remember who asked him to take the job.

There was Paul V. McNamara, Dodd's campaign manager in 1958 and 1964, who testified under oath that two mailings signed by him, in which people were asked specifically for campaign contributions, were not to solicit campaign contributions. One form letter began, "I will be calling you in a few days about whether or not you are willing to make a contribution to Tom Dodd's campaign." "We were raising money for Senator Dodd's personal use," McNamara told the committee. The letter was "somewhat ambiguous," he said. He didn't have the foggiest idea where money came from or where it went.

There was Arthur T. Barbieri, chairman of the Democratic Town Committee of New Haven and of the 1965 dinner given for Dodd. Mr. Barbieri, an insurance and real estate man, also had no head for figures, and also had trouble explaining a letter he had signed which asked people to "assist in meeting the campaign deficit." He was more aggressive or curious than the others in one respect, though. He says he asked for a financial statement from Ed Sullivan, Senator Dodd's office manager in Hartford and the man to whom checks were sent from these various affairs. Barbieri didn't get the statement, but he did ask.

With the exception of Sen. Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, who might just as well have been back in his office or on the floor for all the work he got done for the Ethics Committee during the hearings (he conspicuously didn't pay much attention when he was present, and that wasn't often), the senators who are

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saddled with this gruesome inquiry were fairly impressive as they questioned Dodd's field laborers. The five who were there regularly – Stennis, Bennett, Monroney, Cooper and Pearson – cupped their ears and asked good questions. Even so, the committee disappointingly left a dozen leads untraced.

It is hard to guess with confidence what they will do with Dodd and harder still to guess what they will suggest to their colleagues in the way of reform. The key issue, many people feel, is whether the pressure has built up to the point where senators will be forced to demand of themselves what they demand of others in the executive branch – a disclosure of all income and of all valuable gratuities. Such a disclosure law, combined with an improved means of raising campaign funds on a broad base, an end to payroll padding, and the assurance of adequate staffs and salaries, would come as a surprise after all these years of no congressional reforms at all, but it is now a possibility for the first time. If such reform does go through, a nod of appreciation will have to go to the Nutmeg State senator as well as to Powell and Bobby Baker. Senator Dodd has said he doesn't like to be put in that company, but that's where he put himself. And, like the other two ambitious and energetic men, he did it pretty much on his own.

Old China Hands

by Nym Wales

The death of Henry Robinson Luce was a milestone in the long obstacle course of the American experience in China. Reading his obituaries made me feel as nostalgic as when I first looked over *The Fan Kwae in Canton*, a diary of clipper ship days in the mid-19th century when foreign traders were confined to the Shameen sand bar and paper tigers were painted at Bocca Tigris to keep foreign gunboats away.

Henry Luce was a dividend on the immense American investment in China. There are only a few others of this dying breed, most notably Pearl Buck. Both were born in China (Luce in 1898), children of missionary Old China Hands of the 19th century, and products of the difficult bi-acculturation process. They could have become lost between two worlds. Instead, they not only made the transition from West to East and back again but built a bridge of communication for the public which had not been there before. Henry Luce was the *taipan* of American manifest destiny in China and Pearl Buck was the *t'ai-t'ai* of Chinese-American friendship, classics in themselves, originals.

Henry Luce started *Time* magazine in 1923 with a loan of $86,000 and built a company with shares at a market value of $690 million at his death. He left a personal fortune of over $100 million. He was a true empire-builder, an American Cecil Rhodes in spirit and calling. When the Luce group-journalism got through mastering 10,000 reports, the result was not objective. It was slanted toward building up stone by stone the so-called American neo-imperialism in all of its unconsciousness and contradictoriness. That is Luce's pyramid of immortality. The greatest blow in his life was when he "lost China" in 1949 to the communists. He was the champion of Chiang Kai-shek but his American patriotism far transcended this. Just before his death, Luce was trying to get into Red China to talk with Chou En-lai.

Luce created a paper screen through which information was filtered with the infrared rays closed out. He was an Anglophile WASP – Ivy League and British-trained. At 10 he went to a British boarding school in Chefoo. A missionary child in the same school, Ida Pruitt, told me he was always a quiet, solemn, aloof boy. He received the British discipline intended to train empire-builders and administrators and learned the code. Like the Spartan-and-Roman British ruling elite, he had to be superhuman and a sophisticated Puritan. He did not leave China until the age of 14 when he was sent alone to England and traveled in Europe on his own. He was an A student at Hotchkiss in Connecticut and at Yale, with a postgraduate year at Oxford in England, essential for any American Cecil Rhodes tradition. It was no accident that it was Henry Luce who coined the phrase, "the American century" just before Pearl Harbor, when he went to China and then founded United China Relief in New York. He

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Nym Wales *is the author of* Women in Modern China, *to be published later this month by Mouton & Co. in The Hague.*

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was the unmissing link between the anti-imperialist 19th-century America and support for the Vietnam intervention. His parents were among the 1,300 Protestant missionaries there, a little over half of them women. The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 put the fear of Chinese mass action into every foreigner in that kingdom. At that time there were some 55,000 Chinese converts to Protestantism, and the Catholics claimed about half a million. In 1949, the communist takeover ended their era, and almost every missionary was forced to leave. The communists confiscated the American investment in China, but the love-hate relationship between Chinese and Americans continued, resembling a family quarrel.

"Great Liberal Tradition"

Luce thought of himself as in the "great liberal tradition," and along with other Republicans of the establishment, he moved against the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and cut his career short. One of McCarthy's aims was to drive the Old or New China Hands out of the State Department by calling them communist-sympathizers, and he did succeed in eliminating most of them. Among them were missionary children such as John Davies and John Service, who were reporting the honest facts about China.

I was at the opposite pole from Luce – a New China Hand who arrived there in 1931. We had this in common: we were both remnants of American Puritanism and Cromwellians, strong for the "special relationship" with Britain and also with China; we found life to be real and earnest, not absurd, and we both liked the teleology in the ideas of Teilhard de Chardin, whom I knew well in Peking; we were both strong for Western civilization and Protestantism; we both were strong for the principle of law in the British tradition. There is a freemasonry among all who have lived in China, however much we have disagreed on American policy. Luce represented the big American investment in China, missionary and business. I was a young student trying to learn the facts – of a later day than Luce. Luce continued in the school of gunboat diplomacy – military intervention in Vietnam. I would have given long-term, low-interest loans to the Vietnamese when the French pulled out, so that they might start producers' cooperatives and made this public policy. In 1938, I reached the conclusion that the cooperative was the only way to get Chinese production going – the bridge between the past and the future and the bridge between the industrial nations and the underdeveloped nations.

I saw that the cooperative was the missing link between the missionaries and China, between China and the rest of the world. With its constitution and bylaws, the cooperative is the primitive civil contract, ancestor of the joint stock company. It was the bridge between "feudalism" and capitalism in Britain – it was the form the Protestants took for their covenanted towns in New England. One of my ancestors signed a covenant in 1639 in Guilford, Connecticut, which contains the phrase "from each according to his ability, to each as need shall require."

The missionaries in China should have advocated the cooperative in the 19th century, along with the Ten Commandments and abolition of foot-binding and ancestor worship. They did pioneer with cooperatives a few years before Japan occupied China's main industrial bases in 1937, but they advocated the cooperative as an anti-communist measure and they stressed distribution co-ops, not producers' societies. In 1938, the Gung Ho industrial cooperatives were to be neutral politically – to start co-ops for both Kuomintang and communists to help win the war – and to bring about the industrial revolution in the village, not in the treaty-port cities, as before.

Would Henry Luce sponsor the Gung Ho industrial cooperatives? This was a vital question. *Time* did give publicity to the infant Gung Ho cooperatives and Henry Luce agreed to be on the advisory board of the American Committee in Aid of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, along with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Nelson Trusler Johnson, former ambassador to China. I was vice chairman of the committee when it closed down in 1949.

The death of Henry Luce makes one look back and wonder how much of the American investment in China – materially and in goodwill – remains. We built a frail bamboo bridge – but the civil war swept it away. The West need not fear either commune or cooperative. The danger comes with Big Machinery in Big Cities and nuclear capability – with modern weapons in the hands of men of primitive tribal psychology, and with port industries competing for overseas trade instead of producing for the interior village.

The only important Western influence remaining in China is the cooperative with bylaws and a constitution, however Sinicized into a commune. The Chinese chose the channel of "Marxism-Leninism" to reach Western civilization intellectually, and we can be glad they still like to feel this much identification with the West, however Sinicized.

The life and work of Pearl Buck is itself a bridge between China and the US, and she is now only 74, the child of missionaries. The Pearl S. Buck Foundation has over 200 literary works produced by her since 1930 and future proceeds from these works will be used to aid the illegitimate Eurasian children of American servicemen in Asian countries. The books about her parents, *The Exile* and *Fighting Angel*, tell the

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American story in China, as *The Good Earth* in 1931 universalized the Chinese peasant so that the average Westerner could identify with him for the first time.

The great missionaries of the 19th century were those who wrote the classics on China, such as Arthur H. Smith (*Chinese Characteristics, Village Life in China*), and S. Wells Williams and E. T. Williams. American business did not produce any classics to speak of except *Oil for the Lamps of China*, by Alice Tisdale Hobart.

Usually the American missionary belonged to one of the oldest and best Puritan families, either of New England extraction or of Southern Bible Belt variety. The prime time of Old China Hands was in the thirties – the era of good feeling. This was also the prime period for the New China Hands, such as my former husband, Edgar Snow, who produced the China classic of his generation of journalists, *Red Star Over China*, in 1937; he had arrived in 1928.

There are still a few Old Hands living in China, notably Anna Louise Strong, now in her eighties, whose first China book described the 1927 revolution and who still sends out a newsletter favoring Mao and the Red Guards. She too comes from one of the old Puritan New England families. Arrested as an American spy by the Russians, she decided to spend her old age in Peking and travels by plane all over China. She has published over 40 books, and of all the varieties of communists she has known, she much prefers the Chinese. Living in China is always a searing experience; the letter "C" remains branded on every China Hand.

Walking through the streets of Pompeii, buried in 70 A.D., one is transported back to the age of the Greeks and Romans. I felt the same way in China – like a spectator of a totemistic age of Taoist magic and Confucian clan-commune tribalism. The Chinese have not yet decided what form of society to build to bridge this span. So far they have gone from commune to commune, without ever knowing anything else.

The University and the Multiversity

by Robert Maynard Hutchins

In the next 75 years, or shall we say 25, education may at last come into its own and the ideal university may at last arise. These things could happen because the field will be open for them to happen. The ramshackle structures that now clutter the academic landscape will collapse. It will be seen that they are nothing but Potemkin villages or Hollywood movie sets. It will be evident that whatever their purpose has been they could not accomplish it and that in any event it is time for other purposes.

Before the last war education and research were matters of little general interest or public importance. Education was a kind of puberty rite, and research the esoteric indulgence of a few harmless eccentrics. When during the war the scientists showed they could blow up the world, and when it became clear that science and technology were the foundations of industrial expansion, then, to the martial music of the cold war, education and scholarship suddenly became the road to prosperity and power. Governments became embarrassingly affectionate; foundations emptied their cornucopias; politicians dedicated themselves to educational statesmanship; corporations, discovering, as someone has said, that there might be as much money in education as in poverty, threw themselves into the priestlike task of setting the American people on the path to prosperity and power.

But the demands upon the educational system and the expectations of it are built on false premises, sustained by flatulent representations, directed to ignoble ends, which, fortunately, no educational system can achieve. In far less than 75 years it will become clear that the system cannot deliver the goods expected of it. As a certain disillusionment about power sets in, it extends to those institutions which are the servants of power. As we are putting our higher and higher technical proficiency to baser and baser uses, some distrust of technical proficiency as the end of education is bound to appear. As nothing is more certain than that the Americans of the future must be

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Robert Maynard Hutchins, *President and Chancellor of the University of Chicago from 1929 to 1951, now heads the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. This article is adapted from his remarks at the 317th Convocation of the University of Chicago.*

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citizens of the world and that the great universities of the future must be world universities, chauvinism in the schools and the enslavement of the universities to the military, to the CIA, to "mission-oriented" governmental agencies, or to any nationalistic programs whatever must begin to seem distasteful even to ordinary readers of ordinary newspapers. The concentration of education on meeting the immediate needs of society, as the most powerful pressure groups interpret them by the methods that appeal to those pressure groups, namely, training, information and service, is obviously the direct opposite of what the times require and will shortly be seen to be so.

As the machines take over, as the world becomes computerized and automatic, as the hours, days, and years of labor decline, as free time increases, as a guaranteed annual income supplies every family's basic requirements, what are we going to do with ourselves? On this question an educational system dedicated to training, information and service can shed no light and give no help.

Flattering the Spirit of the Age

The multiversity, which will do for the society anything the society will pay for, exists to flatter the spirit of the age. One trouble with flattering the spirit of the age is that all of a sudden it may turn and bite you. Something of the sort appears to be happening in California. The popular desire, which was formerly, for reasons never made clear, to have a famous multiversity, is now the desire, for reasons equally obscure, to have a cheap one, with clean-shaven students, and relatively few of them. What are you to say to people whose immediate needs you are striving to meet, and even to anticipate, when they tell you they've changed their minds and do not need you any more?

If it is said that we shall always want to be prosperous and powerful and that the educational system can always help us to these ends, the answer is that no causal connection has been established between education and prosperity or power. Nobody knows whether America is prosperous and powerful because of its educational system or in spite of it. Nor do we know whether prosperity and power are legitimate ends for a human society, and under present conditions we have no way of finding out. When all the social institutions that might sit in judgment on the spirit of the age, the church, the press and the university are outshouting one another in the flattering chorus, what chance have we of learning what the spirit ought to be?

The reason we are headed for the everlasting bonfire is that we have no critical apparatus that can be continuously brought to bear upon the aims and conduct of our society. To confuse education with training and the transmission of information, and to conceive of the university as the instrument by which we become prosperous and powerful is to guarantee, insofar as an educational system can affect the outcome, the collapse of a civilization.

As long as there are jobs, people will have to be trained for them. In view of the rate of technical change, they may have to be trained and retrained many times during their lives, and almost necessarily on the job. And those training them will have to recognize the ambiguity inherent in any training program: even in such a program you want something more than mere technical proficiency, and the question is how to get it and technical proficiency at the same time. A French scholar, Jean-Claude Passeron, has pointed out that in classical China generals chosen by means of literary competitions lost no more battles than those who were products of military schools. He might have added that the most successful Chinese general of modern times was trained as a librarian. A training program may fail in its own terms by turning out generals well prepared for the last war, but unprepared for the next, and still less for a world in which any major war is unthinkable. In any event, the argument I am making is not that there should be no places in which technical proficiency is the aim, but that the university cannot be one of them.

In the same way, people are going to have to try to meet the needs of the society as the society sees them. They are going to have to get things done, solve practical problems, conduct short-run investigations, collect data, dig up facts, count them, and distribute them. All this has to be done. What I am saying is that the university is not a good place to do it. Everybody should learn to read and write, but it does not follow that the university should teach remedial reading and remedial writing.

When you try to meet miscellaneous, immediate, low-level needs in a university, you get the multiversity, because these things require little intellectual effort and give your constituency the illusion that you are grappling with "real" problems. The ease and popularity of these activities mean they will overwhelm the essential purpose of the university, which is the search for understanding, an undertaking neither easy nor popular. The multiversity is not merely a non-university, a pseudo-university; it is an anti-university.

The heart of the multiversity is the department. In the nature of the case, the multiversity department, however brilliant its short run results in training and research, cannot understand anything. It exists, like every other subhuman organism, for the survival, reproduction, and expansion of itself. It has no knowledge of the rest of the multiversity, and cannot ac-

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quire any. Other departments are its natural enemies, because they are after the students, grants, contracts and appropriations the department wants for itself. A multiversity is, therefore, in a constant state of virtual civil war. It is held together by compromise and log-rolling, that is by Band-aids and Scotch tape. When it is under severe pressure, as in California, the most skillful mediator in the world cannot keep it from falling apart. Nothing can make the multiversity what the university has to be, an intellectual community.

The Circle of Knowledge

A university has to be an intellectual community because nothing can be understood in isolation. The university's aim is to draw the circle of knowledge. Its great role is to tame the excesses of the experts by forcing them to consider their disciplines in the light of the others. The lawyer, historian, scientist or whatever, who aims at technical proficiency, is necessarily isolated from everybody outside his own field because nobody outside his own field can – or should – have any possible interest in what he is doing. Interdisciplinary studies in a multiversity are a sham: the aim is not to draw the circle of knowledge, but to increase the supply of helpful hints available to the technician by bringing in some from other disciplines.

Since the multiversity is a conglomerate merger, the form of the business corporation is appropriate to it, with directors, executives, employees, a product, a balance sheet, and "growth." But an intellectual community must be small, and, if it is small enough, its senior members can know all about it. They can take their turns in administration, and the class of professional administrators, to which I have belonged all my life, can be abolished. Boards of trustees and regents can become boards of visitors, criticizing, interpreting, assisting, but not controlling the work of the community, the direction of which must be in the hands of its members.

The essential elements of liberal education are the liberal arts, which are language and mathematics. They are the indispensable basis of understanding. Everybody can learn them, and everybody should. The elimination of triviality from the elementary and secondary schools and concentration on giving everybody a liberal education should make it possible to bring everybody to that pitch of liberal education which would enable him to function as a citizen and a man. It should also fit him for that type of independent study to which the university should be confined. This could be accomplished through a six-year elementary school, a three-year high school, and a three-year college, graduation from which could take place at approximately the age of 18. Those college graduates interested in and qualified for independent study, and only those, should be admitted to the university.

The multiversity can do something for graduate and professional students. It can, at least, teach them the tricks of their trade. It can do very little for juniors and seniors, and nothing for freshmen and sophomores. It does no good to exhort multiversity professors to take an interest in undergraduates and at the same time make it clear that appointments and promotions and increases in salary depend on the prosecution and publication of research in which undergraduates take no part. In many multiversity departments an interest in undergraduates is a positively harmful eccentricity, which may be fatal to the prospects of one afflicted with it. For the same reasons liberal education has no chance in the multiversity.

The university must assume that the period of instruction, of schooling, is past, that the student is prepared for independent study, that he has the ability and willingness to think, and think for himself. Since I propose liberal education for all, I propose the college for all. I propose the university only for those who have the interest and capacity to join in its work. The aims of the two institutions are different, and it will cause nothing but confusion to make one part of the other.

We have more information and less understanding than at any time in history. What power can accomplish, the United States can do. What prosperity can give, the United States can enjoy. Power and prosperity are good things to have if you know what to do with them. At the moment, the United States is the most powerful, the most prosperous, and the most dangerous country in the world.

Meanwhile, the civil rights movement is dying, and there are more children in segregated schools than when *Brown* v *Board of Education* was decided. The war on poverty has been lost in the jungles of Southeast Asia. As the rich countries are getting richer, the poor are sinking deeper into destitution, and this, the most explosive situation in the world, will revenge itself upon us in far less than 75 years. We at length appear to be emerging from our fatuous preoccupation with the cold war, but only to fight one of the most miserable and degrading hot wars of modern times.

Yet surely the mission of the United States is to help make the world a decent habitation for mankind. For this we need that understanding which leads to wisdom. If education can come into its own, if the ideal university, the incandescent center of independent thought, can arise, we may have the intellectual means for the effective discharge of our responsibility. The material means are at our disposal.

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STANLEY KAUFFMANN *The Winners*

The announcement of the National Book Awards, with others shortly to follow, raises once again, like an annual welt on the literary body, the sore subject of prizes. I do not propose to dispute this year's NBA awards. No one ever agrees with all of them – or with all of the Pulitzer or other awards. The sillinesses in any list of awards through the years are easy to point out, such as the forgotten authors who got the Nobel prize as against the great men who were ignored. (My favorite Nobel joke is that in 1935 there was no award for literature because no author was thought worthy, and in 1936 the award went to Eugene O'Neill who had produced nothing in the interim.) But bad judgments and injustices do not in themselves invalidate the idea of prizes; there are rewards beneath the surface that seem to me worth the superficial soreness.

The custom of the art-prize is, of course, ancient. Possibly the muralists of Lascaux were the first blue-ribbon winners. We do know that the Athenian drama had its being in two annual contests. (Another amusing fact: *Oedipus Rex* only won second prize in the contest in which it was originally presented. It stops the breath to think about the play – now lost – that was considered better.) Skip the centuries to the present, and we find that, according to the *Literary Market Place*, there are now 87 prize awards open to American writers and 48 prize contests. The former may not be applied for, the latter are open to applicants. The range in stature and subject is wide, from the Nobel prize to three prizes for Barnard undergraduates, from a total contribution to literature (the National Medal) to a single poem in free form (the William Marion Reedy Award), even to the "best work of fiction by a North Carolinian" (the Sir Walter Raleigh Award). Most prizes are given annually, some biennially, a few "occasionally." The prizes themselves range in value from the Nobel's noble $50,000 to certificates.

If the American situation seems overproliferated, it is as nothing compared with France. There are 1,850 prizes listed in the *Guide des prix littéraires*. Some of the prize announcements are conducted with flourishes that would credit *le grand Charles* himself (who, by the way, sometimes invites a prizewinner to dinner). The Paris correspondent of *Publishers' Weekly*, Herbert R. Lottman, writes:

> "No prize beats the Interallié for the drama with which it is announced: the private dining room of the three-star Restaurant Lasserre near the Champs-Elysées. TV and newsreel cameras are focused on a wall painted in the 18th century manner; at a signal from the chairman of the jury the wall disappears into the floor, revealing all the jurors seated around their luncheon table. The chairman takes his seat, murmurs the name of the winner into the microphone."

But, after smiling at the above, we can remember that all prize-giving is ultimately risible, because, in pure reason, there is no absolute "best" of anything in the world. (The heavyweight boxing champion of the world could be knocked out by *someone;* and that someone could be knocked out by someone else.) Any prize in art is nothing more than a *modus vivendi* arrived at by certain judges in a certain situation. Ideal judges do not exist; and if they did, where are the ideal sponsors to pick the ideal judges? (The procedure for selecting the judges in the Athenian drama contests was more complicated than the judging of the plays.) Dishonesty in judges is not the question - at least in any literary contests worth discussion; but fallibility is inevitable. No human being can have completely catholic taste. Further, an incomplete view is almost always inevitable. For example, to venture a flat statement: No judge of any category in the National Book Awards in any year has read all the books in his category; he has not leafed through all of them; he does not even know all the titles. In sheer human necessity, he has had to depend on his own necessarily limited reading experience, of books and reviews and on a list prepared by the Awards Advisory Committee. I do not cite this as a scandal but as a human necessity if prizes are ever to be given at all. But the prizewinning novel – to use fiction as the instance – is not the "best" American novel of the year: it would be more precisely described as The American Novel That Three Judges of Differing Tastes Could Agree to Name – Out of the Relatively Small Number of New Novels That They Were Able to Read Last Year.

So much for rationality. But reason is not the only criterion to be applied to prize contests; indeed, perhaps it ought not to be applied at all. Any social phenomenon that persists through so many societies and centuries has roots deeper than cool reason. It is *wanted.* Obviously it is wanted by prizewinners. They must enjoy winning even when, as sometimes happens, they decline their prizes. (Even Sartre, who before the Nobel announcement wanted his name withdrawn, could not have been offended at being named.) What is more relevant, what is decisive, is that *we* want it. All of us have been griped by some awards or have been doubled up with laughter (as by many of the Academy awards in films). Nevertheless there is something tribally deep in us that wants the occasion, whatever we think of the selection. There is no word more recurrent in *The Golden Bough* than "festival," usually in connection with some aspect of human survival – fertility or harvest. The NBA and the Pulitzer prizes and all the rest of them have their sources in Frazer.

We want the chance to cheer, even silently. If we are lucky, we can cheer the specific choice; if not, we can console ourselves – in at least some of the instances – that what is happening is an affirmation of community: the society's acknowledgment of its own existence and of the importance of celebrating those who perceive, comprehend, perhaps castigate its modes of existence. Besides, there is one emotion in art, one reaction, that is often

(Continued on page 30)

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A Look Into the Void

by Julian Moynahan

The seed of this important first novel by the young Irish-born writer, Aidan Higgins, may be found in his long short story, "Killachter Meadow," published in 1960. A family named Kervick had bought a country house, "Springfield," in County Kildare outside Dublin during the "hopeful" 1880's. By the story's present time, the 1930's, hope had waned and the

Langrishe, Go Down
by Aidan Higgins
(Grove; $5.50)

Kervick sisters, "four unprepossessing and unmarriageable daughters," were slowly toppling into ruin along with the estate. One was eating herself to death, one sat "indoors . . . lost in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*," one spent a summer cohabiting in the shrubbery with "a pallid youth named Otto Klaefisch," a German student living rent-free in the back gatehouse. "Killachter Meadow" recalled Joyce in its harsh distinction of style and was very up to date in its tendency to sacrifice character to the demands of various coldly calculated technical procedures, but its closest affinities were with Beckett. The sisters "pass to and fro . . . plucking at themselves and mumbling," and there was even an effect of Cartesian parody which might have come straight out of Beckett's *Trilogy* when the sister Helen says, "So we're alive, yes, that's certain. It's certain that we're old women. At least we stink as old women should." *Stinkitam, ergo sumus.*

The novel changes the family name to Langrishe, and Otto becomes a detached, ginger-haired, wandering Teutonic scholar named Beck, but the focus is still on entropy, the slow running down of sequestered lives. At the same time, Higgins has won free from his influences and done something extraordinary on his own. The short story was marred by a certain mordancy of tone, with occasional passages of high-flown ("della-cruscan") exposition, such as the tour de force of sister Emily's death in the river, put in as compensation or redress. In the novel, the world of the Langrishes is never hit at or hit off and the narrator simply explores, with perfect authority and clarity, the few physical ambiances and ambiances of consciousness composing their dying life. Decay and running to seed in the plantation are scrupulously matched to equivalent processes as they occur in the characters' eventless lives, where physical torpor and poor metabolism are the very substance, rather than the sign, of what they are.

In 1937 Helen rides a bus back from Dublin to Springfield House ("The lights in the bus burned dim, orange-hued behind opaque beveled glass") and then visits the graveyard while her sister Imogen steals into the study to pore over spinster love letters she had written but never sent to her German lover. She expresses no regret, no nostalgia, no despair, since these are moods requiring some minimal powers of self-transcendence which have long since deserted her. This first section of the book concludes with a sort of prose poem registering decay in the garden and indoors, ending with each sister "in her own room . . . sleeping in big brass beds headed into the corners. . . . And so all goes away."

The major episode of the novel, Imogen's affair with the German in 1932, forms the long second section. Otto is 35, a former student of Husserl and Heidegger at Freiburg who ranks the phenomenologist well ahead of the existentialist, a polymath, a great dry fly fisher and hare killer, and a desultory worker at an absurdly learned thesis on 17th century Celtic philology and the Ossianic problem. He seems to have no ambition other than to penetrate phenomena, including the second Langrishe daughter, and emerges nonetheless as a strikingly vivid fictional presence – a man who has detached himself utterly from history, whose indifference to society and to all humanistic traditions of thought is so fundamental and so confidently demonstrated that he makes the hero of Sartre's *Nausea* look almost clubable by comparison. At home in his lair-like cabin or strolling over abandoned fields and along disappearing garden paths, Otto is an Oliver Mellors with the love-ethic stripped away; and his response, sexual expertise apart, to the hysteria and masochism of Imogen's love-making never extends beyond an alert, unmorbid curiosity.

The final episode, occurring in 1938 at the time of the Austrian *Anschluss*, has an epigraph from Perrott's 16th century Irish chronicle – "water and thornes, with bogges or rotten plashie ground on either side" – and records the burial of Helen. Otto has long since gone off embracing his negative freedom and Imogen is left there at Springfield with one surviving sister to go down slowly into the same sodden earth. Langrishe, go down.

What then is this novel about? The question can be useful, at least in its negative form. To begin with, it is not about the condition of Ireland, although it comes equipped with several epigraphs from English renaissance chroniclers who express an Anglo-Saxon dismay over "the sluttish and unseemly Conditions of the Irish." Springfield House is situated in the Pale, near a great house once visited by Dean Swift and among estates first cultivated by worthies of Dublin's parliamentary golden age. These details are brought in but are never used as "perspectives" in a demonstration of cultural change and decline. Similarly, the book is not a study of the psychopathology of spinsterhood, or of the consequences of physical and moral inertia, although such woeful aspects are not neglected. Although *Langrishe, Go Down* does not dispense with differ-

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entiations of character, after the fashion of the new French novel, neither is it a study of character as such; nor is it, despite some minor Faulknerian borrowings, a gothic investigation of familial doom owing anything important to books like *The Sound and the Fury*. To adapt a motto from Nietzsche, the Langrishe women have eyes through which fate has never looked, and their going down is played out as neither a tragedy nor a melodrama.

It is *worked out* in purely phenomenal terms, with everything left outside the bracketed area – a theme, a moral, a "significant" story – that would hamper the style from its one task of penetrating and exploring intricate and intricately related modes of real existence which are nameable abstractly by words like "decline," "delapidation," "entropy," and, more tendentiously, by labels like "vital failure." No doubt there is a terrible pathos in the fact that the Langrishes and their house can be isolated and alertly scrutinized in the way that they are ("Why has God, the government, the author, left those poor old women all alone?"), but the author is not really interested in the modern disappearance of God or tragic destiny from the human scene. He shows us, again entirely in terms of the phenomenal, that failing and decaying – the dissipation of physical, moral and psychic energy – entail the same, and the same amounts of, energy conversion as succeeding and flowering. As it is surveyed and occupied in this book the ground of the phenomenal is anything but barren, and life seen at dead level turns out to be anything but dead.

It is too early to put Higgins, a Dubliner, in the company of Joyce and Beckett as a major innovator in modern fiction. Yet *Langrishe, Go Down* is without question the most interesting work of fiction to come out of the British-Irish Isles in any number of years and should be read attentively by all who seriously care whether the novel as a genre still exists and has a future.

South of the Rio Grande

by Joseph A. Page

The American public cares little about what is happening south of the Rio Grande. The upheaval in Cuba sparked some interest, and a flurry of nonfiction prophesied imminent revolution throughout the continent. Now that

Inside South America
by John Gunther
(Harper & Row; $7.95)

Fidel and his progeny seem to be under control, mass-media coverage is reverting to its pre-1959 trickle.

Inside South America should briefly arrest this trend. The formula is familiar. Juxtapose the wide-angle focus on nations with close-ups of key personalities. Intersperse endless detail with anecdotes. Include some happenings. And stick to a few basic issues. The result is a synthesis of news, background, impression and interpretation which has institutionalized the *Inside* books.

Like other institutions in this era of constant renewal, John Gunther merits a fresh appraisal. An examination of three aspects of *Inside South America* underscores the difficulty of encapsulating a continent. These include his treatment of a geographical area (Northeast Brazil), his analysis of a critical problem (population growth), and his exposure of some "inside" doings (US penetration).

On his first trip to Latin America, Gunther did not visit Northeast Brazil. North Americans did not "discover" the region until 1960, when the exaggerated threat of a peasant uprising made Recife a required stopover for touring journalists. Their average stay was forty-eight hours, a fact which their articles usually betrayed. Gunther is no exception, and his chapter on the Northeast is a disappointment.

For example, he presents the young priests, Fathers Melo and Crespo, as peasant leaders in the revolution against feudalism. This is merely the top of the iceberg. Before the 1964 military

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golpe, conservatives supported the Church-sponsored peasant syndicates as a buffer against peasant leaders seeking radical change. Under the military regime, Father Melo prospered because of his willingness to praise the government and furnish ineffective leadership to the peasants. Father Crespo barely survived attempts to purge him. His organizing skills were no longer compatible with the newly imposed domestic tranquility. A subsequent feud between the priests did much to hinder whatever efforts were being made on the peasants' behalf. The lesson here is that revolutionary talk should not be taken at face value, especially in Northeast Brazil.

The chapter has other weaknesses. In his discussion of American aid, Gunther notes that in April 1962, $131-million was allocated to Northeast Brazil in a four-year program under the Alliance for Progress. Yet there is no indication of what has been done with these funds, and how much has actually been spent. The problems encountered and engendered by the Alliance in Northeast Brazil could provide grist for an entire case-study in the difficulty of foreign aid. They at least deserve mention. Other omissions include the decline of SUDENE, the Brazilian agency for development, and the impotence of the state government. Nor does Gunther attempt to pierce what *The Christian Science Monitor* recently termed "the veneer of progress" which industrialization is bringing to the Northeast.

Birth control has become an important issue in Latin America. Gunther describes the experiments in family planning which have begun in several countries. He records the ambivalent attitude of many Latin Americans who recognize that the population explosion requires economies to expand at full speed in order to stand still, yet feel that their countries have the potential to support much larger populations. The cult of *machismo*, or virility, is a psychological bar to reductions in family size. And, of course, the Catholic Church will exert considerable influence.

Here, too, the problem may be more complex than Gunther indicates. The Marxists hold that birth control is a *Yanqui* plot to keep Latin America

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subjugated, and to enrich the foreign and domestic drug companies (an inside look at whose operations in Latin America would be most welcome). If the Church changes its teaching, the Marxist Left will be even more vocal in its insistence that contraception is reactionary. Those of less radical persuasion fear that birth control will be used as a substitute for foreign aid. Any US attempt to force population control upon Latin America must expect the charge that this is "bedroom imperialism," a move to preserve the status quo by reducing the revolutionary potential created by population pressure.

Any peek inside South America cannot miss the US presence. The Americans are ubiquitous: diplomatic officials, foreign aid technicians, military personnel, Peace Corps volunteers, missionaries, businessmen, professors, students, and sundry others. To cover this host adequately would leave little time and space for the South Americans. The very nature of Gunther's approach, as well as the brevity of his firsthand exposure and his near-celebrity status preclude him from uncovering "inside" information on the "new diplomacy" by which the United States exercises its will in Latin America. Some fruitful lines of inquiry might be the nature of the relationships between the US ambassadors and the South American presidents, the ambassadors and the American business communities, the American military people and their Latin counterparts, the disbursement of foreign aid to achieve short-term political ends, the collection of personal data on Latin American political leaders during all-expense-paid trips to the US and its subsequent use, and the precise extent to which American academics in Latin America have been performing governmental functions.

Gunther concludes with the comment that we don't own South America, but often behave as though we did, and that we probably take more out of South America than we give.

The author's reputation enables him to talk to normally inaccessible figures such as the military messiahs of Brazil and Argentina. But they say nothing, and the resulting interviews are worth little. The urge for saturation coverage makes Gunther include not only necessary background, but also descriptions of cities taken from secondary sources. The overuse of detail tells the reader more than he would ever care to know, and seems to stem from a desire not to omit any scrap of information, no matter how irrelevant.

Viewed from a wider perspective, *Inside South America* surmounts these shortcomings. Gunther succeeds in calling attention to a neglected area and providing an eminently readable, generally accurate picture. His coverage of Chile and Peru is especially good. He conveys the urgency of the attempt of the Chilean Christian Democrats to carry off their "Revolution in Liberty," and rightfully marks President Eduardo Frei as the key figure in Latin America today. He is perceptive enough to detect the problems which have made the efforts of President Fernando Belaunde of Peru

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less effective than they seem on the surface.

John Gunther may be slowing down, but *Inside South America* will still be the most popular introductory work on Latin America to appear in some time. That it makes people think about Latin America is its best justification.

Ah, Wilderness

by Lewis Yablonsky

A barefooted man with a beard and a surplus Navy jacket that has "Love IS" written on the back of it is pictured walking down the main street of a small midwestern city, digging the sunlight and thinking that the heat is really pleasant when you get out into it. A group of high school kids riding by in a car shout at him. "Hey beatnik." "Hey, you're high man." And, from one of the less imaginative boys, "Why don't you go fly a kite?"

It's Happening: A Portrait of The Youth Scene Today
by J. L. Simmons and Barry Winograd
(Marc-Laird; $1.95)

The man looks up musingly, jaywalks into a dime store and buys a kite. After painting it with bright psychedelic colors he gathers several children around him (against the objection of some parents) and they fly the kite all afternoon. At sunset they cut the string and watch it sail into the beyond.

The thing about this story, according to Simmons and Winograd, is "that the young man didn't turn upon his assailants and by opposing them become their likes. Nor did he go into a foetal crouch over a beer, pitying himself as a sensitive and misunderstood soul (which he is) and condemning the society which trains even its children to put down the unusual. He transcended the harassment, rather than succumbing to it by being roused to self-pity or anger."

This is the new "hang-loose ethic" the authors abstract from the youth scene. The dominant theme that is emerging is neither rebellion, apathy nor violence; it is mostly irreverence. The new ethos questions Christianity, "mother," "my country right or wrong," the rights and competence of parents, professors, presidents. "When caught by parents or authorities, youths are no longer hanging their heads in shame."

The emphasis is on being rather than becoming. Sit-ins are replaced by "be-ins" – carnivals of dress, music, and discussion where existence is explored – often with the aid of LSD or pot.

Blowing one's mind with the kicks of violence is passé in this new ethos. The way to deal with the enemy is to ignore him or try to turn him on to a good scene. The good life involves an immediate scene of gratification and beauty that doesn't harm anyone else.

Spontaneity is a key note. The ability to groove with whatever is happening is a highly valued personal trait. The happening should stand on its own momentary value with no concern about it as a possible investment for the future.

Tolerance is another key note. "A man can stand and stare at roadside grass blowing in the wind and no one will accuse him of being the village idiot. If you like something that I don't like, that's fine, that's your bag; just don't bring me down." The fact that a person was in jail, was a homosexual, or psychotic is irrelevant to the hippie.

The establishment is more a figure of fun than a target for hatred. A picture poster of Reagan's head smiling sarcastically on the body of Humphrey Bogart holding a gun with the caption "Tanks for da votes suckers" is in tune with the hippies and is on sale at the new Free Press bookstores and hip novelty shops springing up around the country. Hanging Reagan in effigy was carried out by more staid and indignant students protesting Reagan's assault on higher education in California.

Reagan once suggested in a news conference that professors at UC and the state colleges should teach these beatnik students and non-students how to

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By JEROME AGEL

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live – the true American way. The following emotional collage (put together from various hippie commentary and mentioned by Stanley Kauffmann in this journal, January 28) would reflect their reply to Reagan's implied charge that the new generation is immoral, irresponsible and needs "real" American values:

> "Look at you, blowing up whole countries for the sake of some crazy ideologies that you don't live up to anyway. . . . Look at you, needing a couple of stiff drinks before you have the balls to talk with another human being. Look at you, making it with your neighbor's wife on the sly just to try and prove that you're really alive. Look at you, hooked on your cafeteria of pills, and making up dirty names for anybody who isn't in your bag, and screwing up the land and the water and the air for profit, and calling this nowhere scene the Great Society! And you're gonna tell us how to live?"

The hippie culture, without any planning or strategy, is developing a new value system and way of life. Sex is more liberal and of the companion rather than of the "until death-do-us-part" variety. The music is resonant and a constant partner at all activities. It appears to verbalize and clarify the swingers' feelings (*e.g.* Bob Dylan, Donovan and The Rolling Stones). There is a clear demand for an "education bag" of great variety with less restrictions on wider exploration. (Note: The so-called Free Universities emerging around the country.)

Psychedelic drugs are attuned to the new scene. LSD and marijuana are adjuncts to most happenings. Whether LSD and pot succeed in opening minds or slowly killing real creative thought is still a subject of inquiry – yet the propaganda on the scene clearly presents these drugs as capable of enlarging one's world of vision.

This book presents the first clear-cut view of the happening generation. A question that time will answer is whether the new scene transitorily fills a vacuum, or provides an in-front vision of the mode of life of the future.

A COMMUNICATION

More Leeway for the Police?

Jon O. Newman, federal prosecutor for Connecticut, has called for selective nonenforcement of the 4th and 5th Amendments. The "sensible middle ground" he proposes in *The New Republic* of March 18 is a flexible system in which the trial judge exercises discretion in deciding whether to admit unconstitutionally obtained evidence. "Certain specific criteria" would govern this discretion, such as "the kind of illegality, the good faith of the police, the seriousness of the crime, and the prosecution's need for the evidence." Thus, says Mr. Newman, illegally obtained evidence will sometimes be admitted and sometimes not.

The trouble with the proposal is that it isn't "sensible" because it won't work, and it is no "middle ground" because it would wreak extreme change in the system as it exists at present.

Newman begins with the premise that, on the whole, exclusionary rules do influence police toward constitutional behavior, but that this beneficient influence is not dependent upon exclusion in every instance. Under his system, since the police would not know during their investigation whether the evidence would be admitted, they would continue to act as constitutionally as possible. We can certainly agree that given a choice of carrying out a search in a constitutional rather than an unconstitutional manner, the police would act constitutionally in order to assure the admission of the evidence. But when the choice is to act unconstitutionally – for instance, to search without cause for arrest – or not to act at all, Newman's police may as well search, since the evidence might be admitted in the

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end. Instead of insisting on "probable cause" (the explicit 4th Amendment standard) for each search, an illegal search would be upheld according to what it fortuitously turned up.

And after they had searched, Newman's police would end their investigation, because if the prosecution had no evidence other than that illegally obtained, the chances of its being admitted would be increased. The standard for police conduct becomes: Act constitutionally when you can, but when you cannot, get the evidence anyway and close your eyes to further clues.

Newman says one "specific" criterion in determining whether to admit the illegally-obtained evidence is "the good faith of the police" in doing as they did. Four sentences later, he sets a standard for use in determining good faith: whether the police had a "plausible excuse" for their action. Patrolling the streets is high pressure work. The decisions which must be made on the spur of the moment are terrible, difficult ones. The police always have an excuse – and it is totally plausible. This is one reason why directives to the police from the courts as to the enforcement of constitutional guarantees must be clear and certain.

Mr. Newman further suggests that an absolute exclusionary rule is unnecessary because conscientious policemen will obey the law even though they know that minor infringements may substantially benefit their cause. The unscrupulous cop, so the argument goes, is not deterred by *Mapp* and *Miranda* from illegal behavior because he can be relied upon perjuriously to claim he acted legally. To the extent that this argument has validity, one may well question the necessity for any change at all.

The truth is, however, that "the sensible middle ground" cannot but tempt the conscientious police officer to overstep the permissible bounds of conduct with resulting erosion of individual liberty. Furthermore, Newman's generalized suggestion that the "unscrupulous" cop will perjure himself without hesitation tends to equate overzealousness with dishonesty, and must appear startling to anyone familiar with police and police conduct. Most 4th and 5th Amendment violations are committed not by dishonest policemen, but rather by honest law enforcement officers whose conduct can be conditioned by an exclusionary rule.

Another of Mr. Newman's criteria is "the kind of illegality" involved. A small constitutional violation is presumably alright. A list of what he considers "technical," as opposed to serious, departures from constitutionally-demanded procedures might be some aid in administering his proposed system. But then, we could not count on every judge agreeing with Mr. Newman's hierarchy of illegalities. The same difficulty inheres in his "seriousness of the crime" criterion. One court might consider only crimes of violence serious. Another court could well think failure to register as a Communist Party member equally serious. Is possession of narcotics a serious crime, justifying or partially justifying the admission of illegally-seized evidence? And what is the measure of "seriousness" – the charge itself, or the weight of the evidence indicating the defendant committed it? The presumption of innocence increases the difficulty of applying this standard.

In sum, Newman's standards are not capable of being rationally applied. The result, moreover, of an effort at applying them, would be a wholesale admission of illegally obtained evidence. This has generally been the effect of the English system to which Mr. Newman draws our attention. The suggestion is ludicrous, moreover, that appellate review would be some sort of check on the number of cases in which unconstitutionally obtained evidence is admitted. Surely Mr. Newman knows how seldom appellate courts find an abuse of discretion by a trial judge. Surely he has read hundreds of opinions which cast a few aspersions on the actions of the trial judge, suggest that the appellate judges would not do it that way themselves, but add that "we cannot find, in these circumstances, an abuse of discretion."

Aside from practical questions of administration, Newman's suggestion that somehow Congress can legislate his "flexible rules" into existence finds no warrant in the legislative history of the 14th Amendment and no support in the judicial decisions expounding the 14th's section 5. Section 5's authorization to Congress to enforce due process and equal protection has not been thought to comprehend enactment of detailed rules for state courts.

Newman may not recall that the exclusionary rule of *Mapp* was born of necessity. California's distinguished

Notes on Contributors

Julian Moynahan *is Professor of English at Rutgers University; his latest novel is* Pairing Off. Joseph Page *is on the faculty of the law school of the University of Denver.* Lewis Yablonsky *is Chairman of the Department of Sociology at San Fernando Valley State College. He is the author of* Synanon: The Tunnel Back.

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Chief Justice, Roger J. Traynor, led the way in his own state by announcing, in *People* v *Cahan*, that California courts were bound to honor the exclusionary rule. As Traynor observed, experience teaches that nothing less than exclusion of illegally-seized evidence deters police illegality.

Newman's very argument illustrates why this is so. A rule which lets the evidence in when the crime is heinous encourages the police to invade citizen privacy in just the sort of case in which they are most likely to do so anyway. And, the victim of the illegal search in an investigation of a heinous crime stands the least chance of persuading a jury that he should recover money damages for the invasion, or of convincing a police review board to discipline the officer. By this means, police conduct in the serious criminal case becomes virtually immune from public control.

Newman also overlooks one practical effect of enforcing the 4th and 5th Amendments: Police and prosecutors are encouraged to devise and improve means of investigation and detection which do not rely on making the accused the witting or unwitting instrument of his own conviction.

Like many liberals who have attacked the Court's criminal procedure decisions of late, Newman seems to have overlooked the central role of the 4th and 5th Amendment protections in a society increasingly beset by public and private invasions of individual privacy and dignity. Newman wants to give defendants only 18th-century weapons to resist 20th-century police techniques. Newman does not mention, moreover, that the urban ghetto resident feels most sharply the impact of police illegality. Ghetto victims of police excesses are least likely to complain and least likely to be given a fair hearing when they do complain. We may well wonder whether the cry for tougher police bespeaks a refusal to face the challenge of constructive solutions to urban poverty and discrimination – and urban crime.

Mr. Newman's proposal is not saved by its invocation of "citizen safety." Brandeis spoke truly 40 years ago: "If the Government becomes a law breaker, it breeds contempt for law."

Finally, we should not forget that the Supreme Court's expansive view of 4th and 5th Amendment guarantees has protected political and religious heterodoxy as well as the integrity of our system of criminal justice. The 4th Amendment has forbidden the unreasonable seizure of both leftist books and deadly weapons; the 5th has stood between intolerant congressmen and political heretics as well as between desk sergeants and defendants.

"Exceptions," such as Newman proposes, tend ineluctably to swallow the rule.

Barbara Allen Babcock
Addison M. Bowman
Michael E. Tigar
Washington, D.C.

Next week there will be further comment on Mr. Newman's article by Justice Hofstadter of the New York State Supreme Court.

Correspondence

Abolish the NSA?

Sirs:

As a former national officer of the United States National Student Association and an "unwitting" participant in its affairs, I could not agree less with the vituperative and ill-thought out letter of Andrew Kopkind and James Ridgeway (March 11). . . . I believe that whatever the worthy motivations of those who sustained the relationship with the CIA, their actions in receiving funds, in conducting programs and implementing policies without consultation with membership is clearly indefensible. CIA's involvement in NSA or in all the other organizations in which it chose to involve itself was wrongly conceived, wrongly executed and repugnant to the essential values of a democratic society.

Having said this, I reject the contention that NSA should disband or its general corollary that all organizations which had any involvement with the Central Intelligence Agency should do likewise. Specifically I reject the notion that NSA was "a CIA instrument first and a dispenser of student services thereafter." For a while the international operations of NSA and its national operation were being handled in separate offices – one in Cambridge,

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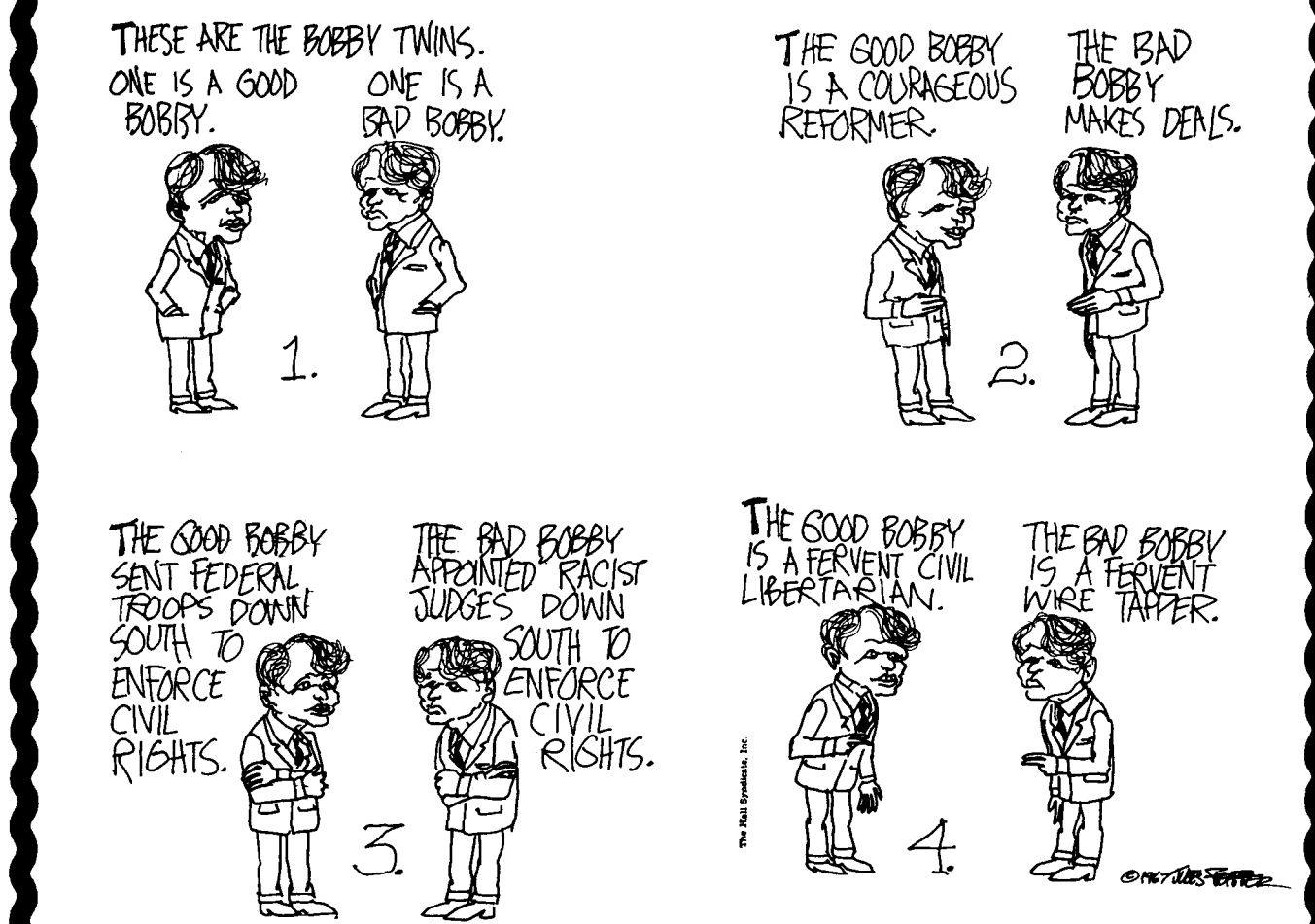
JULES FEIFFER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the other in Philadelphia – and as far as the student community was concerned the Cambridge office could have been in Siberia for all the knowledge they had about its operations. The CIA liked it that way too. The heart of the Association's program was the work being done in the United States for and with American students and this was not subject to CIA control. . . .

It is perhaps a rueful irony that I took a $500 salary cut to $2,500 a year to add $500 to a $750 travel budget so I could assist the sit-in movement, while other officers and staff were receiving large subsidies with large expense accounts from the CIA. But NSA was hardly a captive of anyone in giving aid and technical help to the sit-in movement, in organizing sympathy demonstrations throughout the country, in holding a national conference to rally support for the movement, in raising through campuses bail and bond money for students in jail and garnering scholarships for students who were expelled. . . . Those who fought against the House Un-American Activities Committee debating Fulton Lewis III around the country on NSA platforms had something to do with the present low estate of the committee. I know too that those in NSA who gave the Free Speech movement in Berkeley full support and helped translate it on other campuses into a full-scale drive for university reform do not feel duped by the CIA. . . . I'm not about to destroy that heritage.

Nor am I about to suggest as do Messrs. Kopkind and Ridgeway that NSA refuse to take foundations funds and starve as an organization. All major voluntary organizations need outside contributions whether that organization is SDS, the Council for a Livable World, or NSA. The basic question is where funds are coming from, under what terms and whether the membership of the organization has mandated the programs for which funds are being sought. Since Philip Sherburne became president of NSA, the organization has sought and received several large overt public grants by foundations and government agencies to carry on programs mandated by the NSA Congress. Such programs include the Tutorial Assistance Center which runs a vast supportive operation to many student-run community action programs across the nation, a Student Stress Program aimed at reform in higher education, a civil rights program and many others. Each of these programs was adopted by the elected delegates at the NSA Congress. Each of these programs is run by overt subsidy by staff picked by the NSA officers and under policies governed by the NSA officers and National Supervisory Board. That Sherburne and his successor, Gene Groves, should have seen the need to sever the ties with the CIA and find alternative sources of financing so that the creative work of the Association could continue marks them as heroes rather than villains. They should not be punished for doing the right thing. . . .

I hold no brief for certain organizations such as the International Student Conference, the US Youth Council, the World Assembly of Youth or Radio Free Europe which had and have little purpose except to perpetuate the CIA foreign policy. But I would be unwilling to sacrifice the American Newspaper Guild, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Workers, the World University Service or the National Student Association. . . .

Curtis B. Gans
Washington, D. C.

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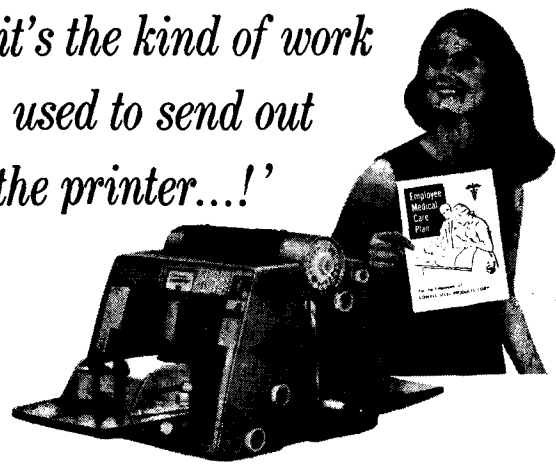

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What the Ambassador Said

Sirs:

Your March 18 note, "'Progress' in Vietnam" implies that in reporting on my recent visit to Saigon I exuded undue optimism about the political, social and economic situation in South Vietnam.

I should like your readers to assess the accuracy of your assessment of my reaction by referring to the public record of what I said to the press in identical statements both in Saigon on my departure and in New York on my return:

"I also had an opportunity for wide-

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ranging discussion about two other processes which have a vital and direct bearing to the prospects for peace – the economic and social programs now under way and the process of national reconciliation in South Vietnam, as described in the Manila Communiqué.

"While I learned much of the progress already achieved in all these areas in this limited period as well as in the military situation, I do not minimize the obstacles and difficulties ahead. Indeed, one of the strongest impressions I bring back is a sense of realistic appraisal of the problems which still have to be overcome to heal the wounds of that tragic conflict and to achieve social and economic justice for the people of South Vietnam.

". . . I do not [return] dismayed by what I saw. I do not [return] optimistic about what I saw. I [return] with resolve that the world needs an end to this tragic conflict and for that end we need the cooperation of everybody concerned. . . ."

Arthur J. Goldberg
US Representative
to the United Nations

In reply:

Reporting from the United Nations on March 6, *The Washington Post's* correspondent, Robert Estabrook, wrote: "Goldberg said he had been encouraged by economic and social programs now under way in the South and by efforts toward national reconciliation." On the same date, Raymond Daniell of *The New York Times,* under a United Nations dateline, wrote that "while he foresaw no early end to the fighting, Mr. Goldberg said he was encouraged by the social, economic and political progress being made in South Vietnam." The Editors

What the Young Believe

Sirs:

As a young Canadian, I was interested to read Senator Robert Kennedy's remarks "What Can the Young Believe?" (March 11). When Senator Kennedy refers to Vietnam, he states that students who question the basic premises of the war "should not and cannot be ignored." Senator Kennedy has already publicly disagreed with the present American policy in Vietnam and it would appear that his disagreement is completely justified.

I spent most of last September travelling behind the Iron Curtain and it is impossible to escape the anti-American propaganda and sentiment which the Vietnam war has generated throughout. In the Soviet Union, the comment most often heard on this subject was: "This would never have happened if Kennedy had still been President." It seems a pity that the present Administration has seen fit to ignore the immense political benefits which could be reaped from the widening Sino-Soviet breach. . . .

It is a military fact that the present type of guerrilla warfare which must be waged to gain possession of physical territory (as opposed to bombing innocent citizens and a few Viet Cong) is not particularly conducive to terminating the war. Even if the American bombing was postponed completely at this time for a period of two weeks and further supplies and munitions were imported into North Vietnam at a maximum rate, would the conclusion of the war be much further prolonged than if the participants continue on the present basis? On the other hand, it is very possible that such a postponement would result in the achievement of a peaceful and expeditious settlement – a settlement which the forgotten Vietnamese people would appreciate far more than the present holocaust. This "Young" believes the gamble is worth it.

T. R. Carsley
Montreal

Playing It Straight

Sirs:

My attention has been called to your note "Playing It Straight" (March 4). It includes the following sentence:

"Eugene Groves, the current NSA president, was a Rhodes scholar in England when he was asked to run

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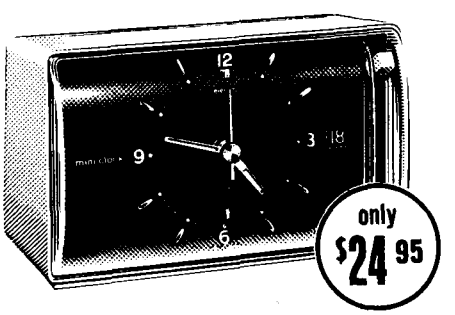

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for president; NSA friends fixed him up with a graduate school acceptance at Roosevelt University in Chicago."

The fact is that on August 17, 1966 Mr. Groves submitted the customary application form in the customary way and had the necessary undergraduate credentials sent. Since he was obviously qualified academically – most Rhodes scholars are – he was sent an ordinary form letter of acceptance. It was therefore quite unnecessary for "NSA friends" to "fix him up" with anything, and it impresses me as gratuitous on the part of *The New Republic* to suggest that Roosevelt University either did depart, or would depart, from its ordinary admission procedures.

Walter L. Arnstein
Roosevelt University

Kauffmann, *from page 18*

given insufficient weight: sheer gratitude. So much of art, including much honest effort, is so bad that we are grateful for good work, and we itch for the chance to express our thanks. The laurel is one such chance. Even when the books and plays and films we like become commercial successes, that fact is insufficient, because inferior work, too, is often successful. A prize is a chance to proclaim that a book's success is not a vulgar mistake!

At the last, beyond social affirmation, beyond gratitude, a prize for art is a prize for penetrating our privacies. We crown those who best understand what is in us that the world cannot see, those invisible beauties and mysteries whose obliteration – by death – we will most regret. Even the local Ladies' Auxiliary prize for the best sonnet of the year is, underneath its flummery, a finger-snap at mortality.

Thus, despite all the patent inequities of contests and all the millimeters of my stomach lining that have been gnawed away by the sight of mediocrity or cliquishness triumphant, I like the idea of prize-giving. There will never be a perfectly just prize in art, but some things are more attainable – and also more important – than perfect justice.

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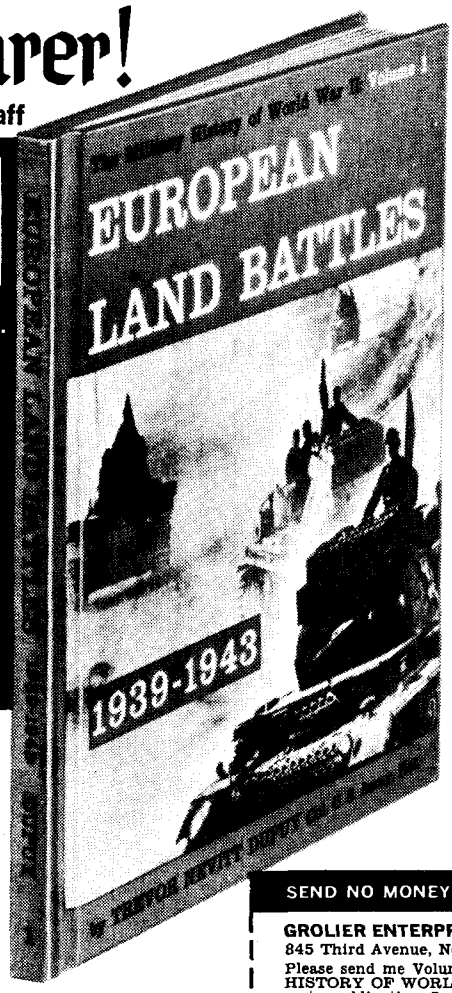

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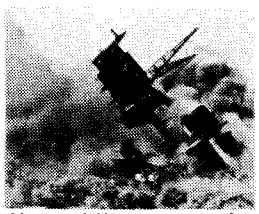

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